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Extracts from speeches and interventions by Canada at the
Belgrade Meeting

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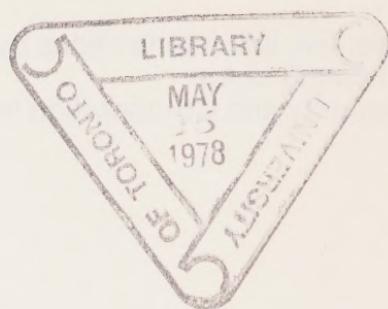
Canada at Belgrade

Extracts from speeches and interventions by Canada
at the Belgrade meeting of the
Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe

Published by the Authority of
the Honourable Donald C. Jamieson,
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Introduction

To understand what Canada and 34 other countries had hoped for when they signed the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe at Helsinki in 1975 and what we were all doing in Belgrade two years later, one has to try first to understand the *détente* framework within which the CSCE operates and to which it tries to contribute. Essentially, *détente* is a process that seeks to establish a climate of greater confidence between countries through better understanding. It applies to relations between all countries but, in terms of current preoccupations, it has its most immediate expression in an East-West context.

During the two years we were in Geneva, from 1973 to 1975, negotiating that monumental document called the Final Act that was eventually signed at Helsinki, Canada as well as the other Western countries tried to accomplish something that would make *détente* meaningful for individual citizens in all our countries. We tried to accomplish something that would give *détente* a human dimension — something that would turn an abstract concept into a vital reality with meaning and relevance for the day-to-day concerns of our people. Canada was particularly active in promoting the practical down-to-earth expressions of human rights, such as the freer movement of people and the freer flow of ideas. We pursued these subjects with special vigour, not because we considered these areas of *détente* the only ones worthy of attention but because all too often they have been lost sight of in the concern of governments to deal with the problems of military security and the material needs of life. As we saw it, the CSCE offered some hope of solving a whole host of problems, not the least of them the human problems, stemming from the difficulties that arise at the points of practical interaction between the different political, economic and social systems under which the participating states live.

At Helsinki the participating states entered into no treaty obligations by which governments were legally bound to behave in certain ways. The Final Act that we signed was a declaration of intention to follow certain

principles and guidelines. Agreement on intentions was perhaps only a small step, but it was a step forward. At Belgrade two years later, we came together to see whether progress had been made in implementing the intentions embodied in the provisions of the Final Act and to discuss how our performance could be improved where necessary. Throughout the meeting, Canada worked together with other Western participants towards these ends on the basis of a shared view of the underlying humanitarian values in the Final Act that we regard with such importance.

It should come as no surprise that the review of implementation revealed that there is a long way to go before it can be said that all participating states are fully living up to the provisions of the Final Act. Two years is obviously too short a period to achieve full implementation of so detailed a document as the Helsinki Final Act. The very nature of that document argues for a patient approach, especially as there are signs that the Final Act may already have been having some effect across the whole range of activities that it covers — political, military, economic, scientific and humanitarian co-operation. This does not reduce our feeling of disappointment with the outcome of the Belgrade meeting. We should like to have seen something in the areas of special interest to us emerge from the meeting, since it is precisely the humanitarian areas of concern that we think must be dealt with if *détente* is to take firmer root and to flourish. The fact that we were unable to take any new steps forward in Belgrade must give us all pause to reflect. At the same time, we realize that it would not make much sense to show excessive impatience with a multilateral process that is still in its early stages, particularly when it has already shown that, by exposing the performance of all participating states to periodic scrutiny, it can be an incentive to progress, however gradual.

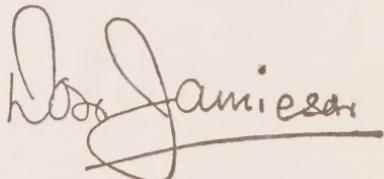
Belgrade was only the first occasion for such scrutiny, and it was important for the precedents it was establishing. While it cannot be said that a true East-West dialogue took place, discussion of virtually the whole range of issues affecting East-West relations was possible and no governments can be in doubt where the gaps in implementation of the Final Act lie. Earlier expectations that the discussion of human rights at Belgrade would be a delicate exercise were confirmed by what happened at the meeting. At times the atmosphere was charged, but no breakdown occurred and Canada, together with others, was able, in a forthright and non-confrontational way, to voice its concern about such matters as the treatment of persons in some countries who have sought to do what the Final Act might make possible: to engage their governments in a dialogue about implementation of the CSCE undertakings. If some governments persist in denying the desirability of such

a dialogue and in refusing to allow it to come to practical expression, it is almost inevitable that the value of *détente* will be questioned by individuals and by governments. This and its possible consequences we should deeply regret.

Set out in this booklet are selections from the speeches and interventions by Canadian delegates at Belgrade. They have been reproduced here in the belief that Canadians should know what their Government representatives have said about issues that in many cases affect their lives and interests directly. This was also the thinking behind my decision to include on the delegation as observers Members of the House of Commons and the Senate.

The range of matters with which the statements deal reflects the fact that Canada places importance on all aspects of the Final Act. Taken together, they convey three themes we consider fundamental in promoting *détente*: our concern must be just as much for the individual as for collectivities; what is done officially must be complemented by what can be done privately; and we must do everything possible to promote within and among our societies movement, access and contacts, both of people and ideas.

Belgrade was the first occasion to test the commitment of the CSCE participants after Helsinki. What happens between now and Madrid, when the second review will take place, may well turn out to be a decisive stage in the CSCE experiment, which will determine whether the forces set in motion by the CSCE can become a viable and lasting process contributing to *détente*.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "David Jamieson", with a long horizontal line underneath it.

Secretary of State
for External Affairs

Ottawa, March 1978.



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The statements or parts of statements set out in the following pages were made by Canadian representatives either in plenary sessions or in one of the subsidiary working bodies. The latter dealt, respectively, with the three main substantive areas of the Belgrade meeting:

Questions relating to security in Europe;

Co-operation in the fields of economics, of science and technology, and of the environment;

Co-operation in humanitarian and other fields;

The statements have been grouped to correspond to these three areas, which in turn correspond to chapters of the Helsinki Final Act. The opening and closing statements delivered in plenary are, of course, of a general nature and stand on their own.

Helsinki — The Final Act: Principles and Provisions

Opening Canadian Statement by Mr Klaus Goldschlag, Special Representative of the Secretary of State for External Affairs.

We are all indebted to our host government for permitting our preparatory meeting and us to inaugurate this imposing and imaginative conference building and for all the courtesies that are being extended to us. The history of Yugoslavia has given it an important stake in the themes that are before us and it has done much, through its policy and through its actions, to advance them. It is entirely fitting, therefore, that the capital of Yugoslavia should imprint its name on this meeting.

A little more than two years ago, the political leaders of our countries met in Helsinki to subscribe their signatures to the Final Act. They did so "mindful of the high political significance" of that document and "declaring their determination to act" in accordance with its provisions. They recorded their resolve to continue the process that had culminated in the signing of the Final Act, and directed us to meet in Belgrade this year for this purpose. We are here today, therefore, to take stock of what has been accomplished in the interval and to see where we go from here.

When the Final Act was signed, it evoked varied reactions. There were those who attached great hopes and expectations to it. They saw it as marking the passage of Europe and North America from the period of Cold War. They took seriously the more secure and civilized international order to which it seemed to point. Others were more sceptical. They were not insensitive to the political vision the Final Act held out. But they were concerned about the balance of advantage that the negotiations had yielded. Still others shrugged it off altogether. They thought that the negotiations had been a misguided effort, that the Final Act either changed nothing or, worse, that it aroused expectations that would not and could not be fulfilled.

A balanced view would lie somewhere in between. We cannot agree that the effort should not have been made. Nor can we discount the possibilities that have been opened up. But we must also admit to ourselves that expectations fall well short of having been met. The political landscape is still far from idyllic. We are still in a situation where stability probably owes as much

to fear of nuclear war as it does to any political arrangement we have yet succeeded in making. This is not a comfortable thought. It becomes even less comfortable when we review the uneven and, on the whole, modest progress achieved in the last two years towards realizing the objectives of the Final Act.

Nevertheless, we are prepared to be realistic. The Final Act covers a broad canvas of objectives. If they had been within easy reach, it would not have been necessary to negotiate them so laboriously. It is of some significance that we succeeded in formulating them at all and that they now carry the consensus of 35 countries and the commitment of our political leaders.

The Final Act reaches into the future. Perhaps two years is not long enough to assess its impact fairly. But two years is long enough to have identified the impediments to better progress. Public interest in all our countries is focused on Belgrade and those who are most serious about the Final Act are also those who expect the most from our deliberations. How best can we approach the task that has been delegated to us?

In the Canadian view, there is an inherent logic to our agenda. The first step is to proceed to a careful and objective review of the current state of implementation of the Final Act. To prepare for such a review, all of us will have drawn up our inventories and compiled our statistics. But the review, in the end, is a political matter, not an exercise for statisticians. What matters is what the statistics mean. After all, many of us started from very different positions in respect of the principles and provisions of the Final Act. What seems important to us is to see how close we have come to meeting the objectives on which we agreed in that document.

By proceeding in this way, we shall be better able to measure the gap that still separates promise from performance. Only when that has been done can we seriously turn our attention to new proposals. We see such proposals as designed not to rewrite the Final Act, which is not within our mandate, but to deepen our collective commitment to its purposes and to improve the quality of our performance.

The Final Act is a balanced document. If it were not balanced, it would not have commanded the assent of the 35 countries assembled here. The Canadian Government, therefore, regards itself as being committed to all parts of the Final Act and it intends to see all parts implemented in equal measure.

But public opinion in Canada focuses unequally on the Final Act. It does so because the different parts of the Final Act are different in their relevance to the concerns and priorities of Canadians. And it does so because Canadians have their own perception of what a policy of *détente*, practised

conscientiously, should imply. In essence, Canadians will assess such a policy by one simple test, and that is whether, as a consequence of supporting their Government's policy of *détente*, they are living in a safer and more humane world. How does the course we charted at Helsinki stand up to such a test?

We are bound to admit that, in the matter of improving security, the provisions of the Final Act are modest. The modesty of our achievement was recognized at the time because there is no other chapter in the Final Act in which our heads of government gave us greater latitude for future progress. But modest or not, we should not underrate the contribution that these confidence-building measures can make to a more stable and predictable environment in an area that remains the greatest area of armed confrontation — that is, Central Europe. We have gained experience in the operation of these measures over the past two years. We are hopeful that, without going beyond the intent of the Final Act, we may be able to refine their application and broaden their practice.

The mandate that has been given to us is limited. But the fact that it is limited does not absolve us from looking beyond it. The Final Act, in the end, finds its place in the wider conspectus of *détente*. And, if *détente* is a matter of increasing confidence, it is ultimately inconceivable that we can manage to increase confidence in the political realm while the arms race continues unabated. Political *détente* and a deceleration in the arms race must go hand in hand. The confidence created by each has a mutually-reinforcing impact on the other. Insecurity, like security, is indivisible.

We are not here to deal with matters of disarmament. That is the responsibility of other organs of the international system. But in our deliberations here we cannot afford to leave out of account the effect that a mounting build-up of military forces and armaments, going beyond the apprehended needs of defence, will have on stability and on confidence. We cannot leave out of account the disappointing progress that is being made in curbing the arms race in negotiations in Europe and elsewhere. We are at the end of the road of peripheral measures. We have come to the heart of the disarmament matter, which is actually to begin to disarm. No one pretends that the next steps will be easy. But we cannot expect to move forward along the disarmament road simply by making declarations of good faith or by trying to legislate intentions. We have only one option, and it is the hard option of dealing with capabilities, of limiting the capacity to wage war.

That is not, as I say, on the agenda of our meeting. But we should not delude ourselves into thinking that, unless we are serious about that larger dimension of security, we can indefinitely sustain the support of our public opinions for the structure of co-operation that we put in place at Helsinki.

Much of the co-operation envisaged at Helsinki lies in the economic realm. Here, too, we believe that the language of the Final Act is indicative of a conception that carries us beyond the provisions we have come here to review.

The systems by which we manage our economies differ in many important respects. We have no illusion about those differences and it is not the purpose of the Final Act either to arbitrate or to bridge them. But we should be wrong, in our view, if we saw our task here or beyond Belgrade to be merely that of recording the agreements we have concluded or the projects in which we are jointly engaged. We should be wrong if we made the creation of new structures or the impact of our endeavours on relations between us the sole focus of our concern.

We cannot, after all, be unmindful that our economies, taken together, represent the core of what is called the industrial world. The way in which we organize and conduct our economies, the way in which we muster our respective economic strengths, has an impact that is acknowledged to be world-wide. A good part of the world will be following our deliberations here closely. They are aware that the countries that have signed the Final Act include virtually the entire industrialized world. They accept, as we do, that closer co-operation among us can lead to a more rational allocation of resources, with resulting benefit, in the first instance, for the peoples of Europe and North America. But it will also occur to them that, the more we as industrialized countries work together to our own mutual advantage, the easier it will be for us to bear in mind our responsibilities to the world system at large and to the developing world in particular.

The facts of interdependence, in any case, are rapidly catching up with us. Regardless of how we manage our economies, we cannot, any of us, escape the implications of the energy crisis; or of the depletion of other natural resources that we have used improvidently; or of the pressure that the rising expectations of our peoples put on the finite capacities of our economies; or of the unrealized demand that is represented by the millions of disenfranchised consumers in the countries of the Third World. This is not a matter of convergence of our systems; but it is a matter of convergence of interests and concerns that we share. We should be ill-advised to disavow that convergence. We shall be much less able to deal with these problems in doctrinal isolation. But we shall not be able to work together at all unless we deal with each other in the spirit of mutual confidence that the Final Act was intended to impart to our economic relations, as to our relations over a wider spectrum.

In the end, however, it is the weight we are prepared to give to the

human dimension of the Final Act that will determine the climate of confidence between us. That such a proposition should itself cause concern is a measure of the distance that still separates us from the objectives we set ourselves at Helsinki.

It is sometimes argued that to place human rights and humanitarian co-operation so high in the scale of priorities is to distort the balance of the Final Act and to distort the balance of the benefits we expect from it. We in Canada cannot subscribe to that argument. The great barrier our efforts are intended to breach is, in the first instance, a barrier between people. We cannot expect to build a structure of co-operation that will prove solid unless it involves our people and unless they identify their interests with it. We cannot proceed on the assumption that relations between states can remain unaffected where respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms is seen to be deficient. On the contrary, the link is explicitly drawn in the Final Act and we should do well to keep it in mind as our deliberations go forward.

We acknowledge that many of the principles and provisions of the Final Act are in the form of unilateral undertakings by participating states. We believe, nevertheless, that all these undertakings are a legitimate subject for discussion at our meeting here in Belgrade. This applies to human rights and human contacts, as it does to the other subjects that come within the ambit of our review. We cannot agree that such a discussion constitutes an intervention in the internal affairs of participating states. We are here to measure progress and the only measure we can apply is the degree to which undertakings freely assumed by governments are being carried out.

The point is sometimes made that the problem with human rights is that they are subject to very different interpretations. It is true that different societies attach different weights to particular human rights. It is also true that some societies claim precedence for the rights of the collectivity over those of the individual. We are not here to arbitrate those differences. But we do not believe that matters of definition should stand in the way of conscientious performance. We are not, after all, writing on an unwritten page. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is common ground between us. So, between many of us, are the relevant international covenants. The Final Act itself, in declaring human rights to derive from "the inherent dignity of the human person", has surely dispelled whatever doubt there may have been of where our obligations lie.

All our governments could probably claim to have put in place an adequate legislative basis for assuring the observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms. But concepts in this field are evolving and there is a need to ensure that this evolution is progressively reflected in our laws. We

also have to consider that our systems are not perfect. All too often, there is a gap between what is prescribed in the statute book and what is vouchsafed in practice. We acknowledge that it is the responsibility of each government to see that such a gap does not develop and that, where it has developed, steps are taken to remedy it. But we also accept the right, in Canada as elsewhere, of individual citizens to concern themselves with these matters and to enter into a dialogue with their governments where precept and practice appear to diverge.

In raising these issues in Belgrade, our purpose is not to create confrontation. Nor is it to arrest the course of *détente*. Our concern, in fact, is just the reverse. The Canadian Government has itself undertaken obligations at Helsinki in the matter of human rights. We are prepared to be held to these obligations by Canadians, as well as by governments whose signatures are affixed to the Final Act with ours. We are prepared to see our performance subjected to scrutiny where it is open to challenge and to bring our laws and our practices into conformity with the obligations we have assumed where that is not already the case.

The dispositions of the Final Act in the matter of human contacts are of special concern to Canadians. We are a country of settlement, some of it recent, and many Canadian have continuing family links in Europe. The Canadian Government has pursued a policy that attaches priority to the reunification of families. It has looked to the Final Act to break the impasse that has often inhibited the pursuit of that policy.

In point of fact, the Final Act has brought about improvements in the past two years. There are still many cases outstanding, but we have been encouraged by indications that governments are prepared to take this matter seriously. What is less encouraging is that such progress as has been made is still not automatic. It has been achieved at the cost of considerable effort and even hardship on the part of those desiring to join their families. It is not yet a simple matter for people to move from one country to another if they wish. The administrative barriers are often formidable even where those involved no longer form part of the active working population of their countries. It is our hope that one of the results of our meeting will be a more generous and humane interpretation of the family-reunification clauses of the Final Act, not as an exception but as a matter of general policy and practice. If that were achievable here at Belgrade, it would help more than anything else to lend credibility to our efforts in the eyes of Canadians.

Indeed, the factor of credibility could be crucial to public support for *détente* in Canada. The Final Act may have been signed only two years ago, but some of the problems with which it deals, such as family reunification,

have been with us for many more years than that. Canadians thought the Final Act would at long last provide the impetus necessary to deal quickly with this problem. And so to some extent it did. But, to the extent it did not, public preoccupation in Canada continues. If governments, in the two years since the Final Act, have been unable to solve such a simple problem, people ask, how much hope is there that they will be able, even given a much longer span of time, to solve the many more difficult problems that the Final Act raises? This kind of scepticism should be a warning to us. Confidence is contagious, but so is want of confidence. If *détente* is to become permanent, we have to make confidence permanent, not just confidence between states but the confidence of our citizens that their governments were acting sensibly when they assumed the obligations of the Final Act. Seen in this light, even an apparently limited problem like family reunification can come to have a general significance if people choose to make it a test of *détente*.

The Canadian approach to the Final Act will continue to be positive. We attach importance to its provisions and to the principles it has formulated to guide relations between its signatories. But we also look beyond the Final Act to those broader issues bearing on a more-rationally ordered world that inevitably form part of the context in which the improvement of security and the development of co-operation among us must be situated. We do not see the Final Act as exhausting the responsibilities we have towards one another or to the world at large. If we are to meet those responsibilities, we must manage to overcome distrust and increase confidence between us. That is what the preamble of the Final Act enjoins us to do. If we can cross that threshold, we shall be closer to "solving the problems that separate" us and to "co-operating in the interest of mankind", to borrow the language of the Final Act.

We hope that the exchange of views on which we are about to embark will be objective and dispassionate, that it will help to clear away suspicions and misunderstandings, and that, above all, it will lay a solid basis for progress.

Questions Relating to Security in Europe- The Declaration of Principles.

Under this heading the Belgrade meeting reviewed implementation of the ten principles guiding relations between participating states, and subsequently examined new proposals designed to improve this implementation. Canada was a co-sponsor of three of these new proposals: one dealing with the role of the individual in promoting *détente*, including the right of the individual to maintain a dialogue with his government; one reaffirming the Seventh Principle, dealing with human rights and fundamental freedoms; and one dealing with the struggle against terrorism.

“The Ten Principles — The Canadian Approach to Implementation.”

October 10, 1977

. . . At this stage, I intend to deal in particular with those questions from the first chapter of the Final Act which, two years after its signing, appear to us to be the legitimate and necessary focus of attention in improving the implementation of that Act, and thus improving the climate of confidence and *détente* among participating states.

In so doing I shall necessarily have to be selective. This is in part because time does not permit comment on each principle in turn as well as upon all the other matters contained in the first chapter of the Final Act. It is also because public opinion in Canada focuses in different ways on the various provisions of the Final Act, owing to the particular concerns of Canadians and their special perception of what *détente* should entail, especially for the individual. However in general . . . Canadians see in these precepts a basis for the conduct of civilized relationships between states. Together the principles form an organic unity and a vital and flexible approach to the building of trust and confidence.

A number of speakers have already reminded us that within the body of the principles there are some which call for respect for certain ideals or refraining from certain types of behaviour, and others which call for positive action on the part of all participating states. Application of the principles as a whole, like that of the Final Act of which they are a part, has, of course, not been perfect — that would be asking too much in so short a time. On the whole, however, we are well satisfied that those commitments delineating actions not to be taken have been adequately respected since the Final Act was signed; sovereign equality has not, for example, been challenged nor have frontiers been assaulted.

It is perhaps more important to assess the measure of implementation achieved so far amongst what I might call the “dynamic” principles, in particular the Seventh, Ninth and Tenth Principles. These principles exemplify the dynamic possibilities of *détente* — the possibilities for movement and change — that is a common thread throughout the whole “decalogue”. It is

to these principles requiring deliberate and positive action that we must pay special attention; it is the principles governing movement and change in our relations which, in our view, animate the Final Act, and breathe a special life into it. And it is here precisely — at the shortfall between expectation and performance — that we must examine amongst ourselves where improvements can be made. As a participating nation we are naturally concerned with our own record of achievement, and, indeed, with the areas where we have identified the need for progress. We will, at the same time, wish to express views on what others have done or have not done, and from this we anticipate a reasoned and intelligent dialogue which may contribute to a fuller realization of the spirit of the Final Act.

The Seventh Principle, on human rights and fundamental freedoms, deserves particular attention because of the problems it raises. With this principles we come face to face with the questions on which are evident the greatest differences between the two major political/social/economic philosophies adhered to by participants in this conference. Yet in the Final Act we have a text which goes rather far in identifying common grounds in the field of rights and freedoms of universal concern, including religious rights.

* * * * *

The notion of deliberate, positive action is also clearly enshrined in the Ninth Principle, dealing with co-operation. Much of what we have inscribed under the second and third chapters of the Final Act is covered by the concept of co-operation, which is therefore central to the implementation of the Act's various provisions. Furthermore, we have envisaged this co-operation involving not only governments, institutions and organizations but also the individual, thus bringing the furtherance of this aspect of *détente* to the grass-roots level. Over the past two years the record of implementation of the co-operative aspects of the Final Act has, as most delegations noted last week, been uneven, and in some cases unsatisfactory. At a later stage we will wish to examine in greater detail particular areas of interest to Canada and, with others, suggest ways in which implementation can be strengthened.

The principle of fulfilment in good faith of obligations under international law explicitly states that we will all "pay due regard to and implement" the provisions of the Final Act, and therefore underpins our commitment to carry out the provisions of the CSCE. To the extent that there are many provisions of the Final Act which have still not been implemented by one or other participating state (and to some extent this is probably true of all of us), we can say that this principle has not yet had its full effect. This is unfortunate, for confidence relies heavily upon the fullest possible imple-

mentation of commitments entered into at the highest level in Helsinki two years ago. Of all the principles, this one looks most to the future, and it is in the continuing efforts of all of us towards full and creative implementation that our best hopes for the viability of *détente* rest.

“The Implementation of Principle Seven, dealing with Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms.”

October 31, 1977.

During the Geneva negotiations in which the text of the Final Act was worked out, it took 56 subcommittee meetings to complete the text of the Seventh Principle, dealing with human rights and fundamental freedoms. This is a measure of the sensitivity and importance of the subject, reflecting the fact that since the end of the Second World War human rights have been a major preoccupation in the United Nations and in other international forums. From these prolonged labours in Geneva emerged a substantial text which unequivocally enjoins all participating states to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms, and goes on to enumerate a number of specific aspects of human rights to be protected.

Much has already been said, during the Belgrade meeting and before it, about the need to recognize that the way in which a state deals with its citizens is purely an internal matter and that for others to comment upon it is to transgress the principles of sovereign equality and non-intervention in internal affairs. In discussing the First and the Sixth Principles, the Canadian delegation made it clear that we do not subscribe to this approach, and why we do not. Essentially, we believe that our shared commitments to the United Nations Charter and documents which deal with human rights, and our common adherence to the Final Act, have irrevocably placed human rights on the agenda of subjects of common international concern, and oblige each of us to respect those rights. And, Mr Chairman, to discuss them, as this seems necessary.

During our review of the principles so far, we have also heard a great deal about the emphasis which governments professing a Marxist philosophy place on economic and social rights. My delegation has no problem in acknowledging the importance of this aspect of the total complex of human rights. Nor do we hesitate to acknowledge, as was done by the Special Representative of my Foreign Minister in our opening statement in plenary, that some societies claim precedence for the rights of the collectivity over those of the individual. At the same time, it was made clear that, in the Canadian

view, we are not here to arbitrate the differences in approach on human rights — still less to assert the supremacy of one system over another. Rather, we are here to ensure that the Final Act in its entirety is conscientiously implemented, and that individuals in each of our countries are able to benefit thereby.

In the matter of human rights, the Final Act is very clear: all participating states are to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms, “including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief”. They are to “promote and encourage” the effective exercise of civil and political, as well as economic, social, cultural and the human rights which “derive from the inherent dignity of the human person”. It is, therefore, quite clear that, whatever political, social or cultural road it may be following, each participating state is obliged to honour all forms of human rights deriving from the dignity of the human person, and not just select those which its ideological system emphasizes. It is, of course, a tall order to implement such a wide range of human rights, and it would be very surprising if any country or society had a perfect record. But what we can expect — what our people have undoubtedly expected since the signing of the Final Act — is an improvement in all areas of human rights, in all participating states.

What, in fact, has happened in connection with the implementation of human rights since Helsinki? One can say that in most participating states there has at least not been a large-scale deterioration, notwithstanding severe economic difficulties and a disturbing upsurge in terrorism.

We must note with real regret, however, there have been developments in some participating states, particularly in the area of religious, political and civil rights, which it would be hard to see as part of a trend towards improvement. It is the more distressing that these developments are coming to the forefront at a time when the political situation in Europe is reasonably stable and there has been an upsurge in interest among our populations in the advantages which *détente* holds for them, both individually and as members of groups sharing a community of interests. Repressive actions against such individuals and groups, who in most cases are doing no more than seeking to make the Final Act work for them, comes as a cruel disappointment to the hopes, entertained by many thousands, and perhaps millions, of private citizens in the participating states, that *détente* can have a human dimension of direct value to them.

Why, for example, is it that in 1977 we are hearing complaints that members of religious groups in a few participating states are constrained from “practising, alone or in community with others, a religion or belief in accordance with the dictates of his own conscience”, as specifically provided

for in the third paragraph of the Seventh Principle, and in Paragraph 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights? Why are there charges that in some participating states the practitioners of certain religions — in particular Jews and Baptists — are subjected to especially severe restraints in the exercise of their communal religious life, notwithstanding official constitutional guarantees that all citizens shall enjoy freedom of religion? Examples of this penalization are: the prohibition of organized religious instruction; restrictions on private worship, communal, social and fund-raising activities; harassment at church festivals; restrictions on the importation of religious literature; and even the prosecution and imprisonment of believers, especially those advocating more religious freedom. Why are contacts between practitioners of the same religion living in different participating states sometimes discouraged or prevented, despite the fact that in the third chapter of the Final Act it is explicitly stated that "religious faiths, institutions and organizations, practising within the constitutional framework of the participating States," can have such contacts? These matters are of real and continuing concern to many Canadians, and not just to those who share the faith of the disadvantaged.

Belonging to a multicultural society in which the majority have their ancestral roots in Europe, many Canadians are naturally concerned with the implementation of the fourth paragraph of the Seventh Principle, concerning national minorities. We have, of course, noted the constitutional provisions that exist in many countries guaranteeing these rights. And yet we are aware of complaints that in participating states there are national minorities whose members are in practice discriminated against by the authorities, seemingly because of historical or political reasons having to do with the desire of members of that minority to retain their identity or to emigrate to another land. Examples of this discrimination are cases involving restrictions on the freedom of the choice of profession and the placing of nationality quotas on entry to higher-educational establishments. We are also aware of complaints that there are nationalities which are not permitted their own schools, instruction in their "national" languages or cultural institutions. Such discrimination can scarcely be justified by the fact that some of these minorities are not territorially concentrated. Neither the Final Act nor, for example, Article 27 of the UN Covenant on Civil and Political Rights says anything about the need for such a territorial foundation.

To us an extremely important aspect of the Seventh Principle is the seventh paragraph, in which participating states "confirm the right of the individual to know and act upon his rights and duties" in the field of human rights. The same idea is conveyed more generally in Article 19 of the

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which establishes the right "to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information". This concept of the individual citizen's being informed about and involved in the human rights field is already well established, both in theory and practice, in many participating states. Where it is not, surely it is not expecting too much, especially since the signing of the Final Act, to look to an improvement.

Unfortunately, expectations in this regard have not been fulfilled. In three participating states in particular, individuals and their families who have been exercising their freedom of thought and conscience, or acting upon rights and duties established under international law, have been harassed, exiled, arrested, tried on one charge or another, and imprisoned. It is especially regrettable that in some of these cases the individuals concerned have been attempting to enter into a dialogue with their government on the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act. We wonder if the governments concerned have any idea of how corrosive such actions are of the confidence which we have collectively sought to create in Europe — especially when, like the recent trials in Prague, they take place, as though to flout the Final Act, at the very time we are meeting in Belgrade.

One of the most unfortunate results of these practices has been to confuse individuals as to what their rights are and, out of fear, to deter them from finding out. It would be a large step forward, and very much in line with the seventh paragraph of the principle on human rights, if all the regulations, laws, decrees and administrative directives affecting the exercise of various types of human rights could be brought together and made known to the public at large. This at least would ensure that citizens do not move in a frightening world of legal uncertainties. For example, Article 12 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights lists the right to "leave any country", and recognizes certain restrictions on this right only as far as they "are provided by law". In order to see whether a restriction on the grounds of national security, public order, rights and freedoms of others and so on conforms to the conditions laid down in the covenant, one would have to see whether they are indeed provided by law.

There is even reason for participating states to go one step further and examine whether laws that have been passed and, in fact, made public do not go against the very objectives of the Final Act. There is, for example, a law which not only penalizes those living abroad who, in exercising their rights of free expression, may have lost their citizenship for having been critical of the government of the country of their origin, but which also penalizes their family and friends in their old home country. I refer in this particular

instance to a new piece of legislation passed only this year by Czechoslovakia, which provides that "Czechoslovak citizens who maintain contact with persons whose citizenship has been cancelled according to these rules cannot be permitted to travel outside the Czechoslovak Republic". There are, in fact, other similar provisions that specifically place barriers to the freer movement of individuals to friends and relatives who have either not regularized their status or are in the process of doing so. Whatever the merits of such provisions in the judgment of the Czechoslovak Government (and it must be emphasized beyond any misunderstanding that we are here considering the impact that these regulations have on citizens and governments of other countries), the fact is that it has the effect of penalizing some persons whose only act has been to maintain contacts with a member of their family or friends abroad. In a country like Canada that situation, Mr. Chairman, has profound consequences of an adverse nature for *détente*.

Perhaps one of the ideas to which we should be giving more thought in the months ahead is ways of strengthening the possibility of individual citizens maintaining a dialogue with their governments as a means of safeguarding their human rights. Is it beyond human ingenuity, in both a political context and in a humanitarian spirit, to find ways for citizens to make complaints against their governments, when all means of satisfying demands which to them seem legitimate have been exhausted? This is a complex and sensitive issue but it should not be overlooked or set aside simply for that reason.

Canada, for example, has noted with approval and interest the development within the UN context of concepts and, indeed, international instruments, of this sort, including the relevant sections of the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and its Optional Protocol. We have noted, too, the ratification of these instruments by many of the participating states. Over the longer term, Canada will be considering how these concepts, and, indeed, others of a similar spirit which will undoubtedly enter into our international discussions, could be made a widely-accepted and living reality, so that it would not be necessary to raise such matters in conferences such as this.

Because of the great importance we place on these questions and because of the gaps in implementation which have been evident to the Canadian Government and to the people of my country, my delegation will wish to consider means of reaffirming in the final document of this conference our commitment to the idea of progressive improvement in the practical application of all human rights. Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms is essential both for the free and full development of the human person and for the development of friendly relations and co-operation among

states — and for the nourishment of confidence between governments which direct their efforts in relation to totally different philosophies. This twofold importance of human rights — this emphasis on the individual as well as on the state — is recognized in the Final Act by all participating states. I cannot, however, emphasize too strongly the view of my Government that confidence and trust, to be built into relations between states, must be felt by individuals. It is thus incumbent upon all of us to reassure our citizens that, more and more, as *détente* progresses between and among us, it is not simply a matter of formal relationships between states; it is not an abstract and elegant diplomatic concept which has no concrete meaning for our citizens in their individuality as distinct from their collectivity. We come back in the end to the dimension of *détente* which involves the enhancement of the dignity of the individual, and the enlargement of the possibilities open to him.

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The test of a participating state's serious intention to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms lies not only in its adoption of legislation but in the practices its authorities follow, as well as its readiness to discuss any deficiencies in the scope of its human rights legislation or in the observance of its legislation. An unimpeded dialogue on human rights between the people and their government should be a primary concern of governments.

Governments should also be prepared to meet criticisms by other governments about deficiencies in human rights performance which are made seriously in the context of the provisions of the Final Act. Governments and systems of government are never perfect and changes, where these are required to improve the situation regarding human rights, should be considered normal and appropriate.

“The Implementation of Principle Nine, dealing with Co-operation Among States.”

November 15, 1977.

My delegation approaches the principle on co-operation in basically the same way as we have approached the other principles. That is, rather than enter into a debate on possible interpretations that can be given to the text of this principle, we prefer to see in it concrete possibilities for actively promoting different sorts of co-operation

What are these possibilities about which Principle Nine speaks? The second sentence says that, in developing their co-operation, participating states will place special emphasis on the fields as set forth within the framework of the CSCE, with each of them making its contribution in conditions of full equality. This sentence makes it explicit that we are all committed to pushing ahead with the various types of co-operation elaborated in the second and third chapters of the Helsinki Final Act. These chapters offer an impressive range of possibilities for co-operation — be they economic, scientific, technological, social, cultural or humanitarian. It would be quite impossible, as well as unnecessary, to try to itemize them here. Suffice it to say that in the relevant working bodies we have rightly been reviewing all the possibilities for co-operation contained in the text of the Final Act to determine what obstacles are still obstructing their progressive implementation. And we should recall that these obstacles can be removed *only* if the appropriate action is taken by each state, either unilaterally or in concert with other participating states on a bilateral or multilateral basis. It may sound strange to speak of unilateral action in the context of co-operation but, as the Helsinki Act makes clear, unilateral action is called for — and logically so, in view of the need to bring into balance uneven practices in our countries.

The Ninth Principle states that participating states should take steps to promote conditions favourable to making the benefits of co-operation available to all. This is an important idea, as it suggests that, if co-operation is to be truly worth while, the advantages should not simply be the facilitation of the work of certain state organs, for the benefit of a chosen few, but should

in one way or another extend to all the members of our populations — and, indeed, to the citizens of non-participating states as well. This sentence, furthermore, contains a clear call for positive action on the part of each of us to ensure that these benefits *are* passed along. For example, it is not much use agreeing, on a state-to-state basis, to improve the dissemination on our territory of printed information from other participating states if there are certain practical obstacles in the way of persons attempting to have access to the greater number of books, periodicals or newspapers being imported. We must each of us examine our procedures and if necessary take concrete steps to ensure that bureaucratic or other forms of obstacle do not prevent popular demands or interests from being met. Co-operation should have a “ripple effect” — that is, its effects should be passed along to our citizens, who are the potential end-users of co-operative arrangements.

The important question of who is actually going to do this co-operating is answered in the third paragraph of Principle Nine: governments, institutions, organizations and persons. It is the Canadian view that, if the implementation of the Final Act is to be fully realized, and if other fields of co-operation are to be developed, co-operation in all its forms and at all its levels must be allowed to flourish — indeed, it must be encouraged in *all* its diversity. Consequently, there should be a progressive elimination of the impediments which unfortunately still do exist to the intensification of co-operation on the institutional, organizational and personal levels. It really only stands to reason that much more can be done in the way of co-operation if the task of developing it is shared among our officials and private citizens, and the co-operative contacts between our societies thereby diversified. We know, furthermore, that the appearance of the Final Act has nourished an already large and growing interest among all levels of our societies in helping to promote this co-operation.

In saying this, my delegation does not underestimate what has and can be done through state-to-state co-operation

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What especially concerns us here in Belgrade, however, is to underline our common commitment in the Final Act that private organizations, institutions and persons in each of our participating states should also be able to play their full role in implementing Principle Nine. It is, after all, clear from the provisions of Chapters 2 and 3 of the Final Act that there are many aspects of economic and humanitarian co-operation whose implementation is fundamentally the concern of private groups and individuals, and for which no special agreements are needed. (Indeed, agreements might

actually restrict the extent of co-operation by setting arbitrary limits on what can be done.) For example, enterprises, firms and banks, as well as individual businessmen, are named in the sub-chapter on commercial exchanges as interested parties in intensifying economic co-operation. Members of religious faiths are mentioned in the sub-chapter on human contacts as being able to have religious contacts and exchange religious information. Individual journalists are by the Final Act allowed to have contacts with their sources of information. Authors are allowed to contact publishers. And so on.

In our perception, the necessary development of co-operation at the grass-roots — the democratization of co-operation, if you like — can in many cases best be effected by states refraining from practices which tend to inhibit the person or persons who would otherwise participate or even take initiatives.

Examples of such practices are travel restrictions, discouragement by officials of certain types of contact between persons of different participating states, the interruption of the flow of communications, the insistence on certain centralized liaison channels, and so on. Many of these practices — and no country or system has a total monopoly on them — reflect a past characterized by deep mutual hostility and distrust between systems. But at Helsinki we felt confident enough to agree that *détente* in Europe had advanced sufficiently to begin actively promoting a more normal, healthy relationship between participating states through co-operation in many fields and on all levels. This means that past attitudes and practices have to be re-examined and, if necessary, modified — and, to the largest extent possible, the individual should be the beneficiary.

For, Mr. Chairman, my delegation has repeated many times that one of its overriding concerns in the development of *détente* is to ensure that, step by step, we achieve a situation among us where the private group and the individual benefit from the co-operative process, and fully participate in it alongside their governments. This is what we would call normality in interstate affairs, and we believe it can be achieved between states of different social and political systems given good will and a willingness to take fresh approaches.

This is also the kind of normality I was speaking of in connection with the Seventh Principle, on human rights and fundamental freedoms, when I emphasized the importance of individual citizens being able to engage their governments in a dialogue concerning the implementation of the Final Act, and not be penalized for it. Far from treating citizens or groups with such an aim as outcasts or criminals, it would surely be better, as clearly called for in the Ninth Principle, to allow them to play a full role in the practical implementation of the co-operative aspects of the Final Act. The desire of

an individual to talk to his authorities about his rights, and more particularly about the definition of those rights as agreed to by all in the Final Act, is surely not something to be viewed with fear and suspicion. Surely it is something to be encouraged. It is a truism to observe of human nature (and unfortunately, in our view, this has not always found universal recognition on the international plane) that people generally support something they have a personal stake in. It is to promote a state of affairs where private groups and individuals, as well as governments, feel they *do* have a stake in *détente* that my delegation has co-sponsored with a number of other delegations a proposal on the vital role of institutions, organizations and individuals in developing co-operation. If all 35 states here can agree to advance this concept on which we have already agreed at Helsinki, then we will have gone far to make co-operation effective and meaningful.

“The Common Fight Against Terrorism.”

December 14, 1977.

I should like to say a few words in support of the intervention that has just been made by our colleague the distinguished Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany; the text he has introduced bears Canadian co-sponsorship.

Probably no country inside or outside the CSCE forum has totally escaped the phenomenon of terrorism, which in recent years has increasingly taken frightening new forms, and posed a potential threat directly to more and more of our citizens. Terrorist acts are a common threat to us all whatever the size, ideology or geographical location of our country. The fight against terrorist acts must be a common one. Furthermore, in the Canadian view, no reason, no cause can be adduced to justify these increasingly barbarous acts of violence. No matter who the perpetrator or target may be, no matter what the motive is, no matter where they take place, these acts detract from and erode the norms of civilized behaviour, of social well-being and of justice in all our countries—and, indeed, in the world community as a whole.

We do not see any distinction between political and criminal acts with respect, for example, to hijacking. Any such distinction would be inconsistent with the letter and spirit of the 1970 Hague Convention and the 1971 Montreal Convention.

My delegation, like the other co-sponsors, believe that the Belgrade concluding document could usefully reinforce efforts being made elsewhere to combat all acts of terrorism; I refer to efforts in the UN Committee on International Terrorism and the Committee on Hostage-taking, on both of which bodies Canada serves as a member. For this reason we are co-sponsoring the text which has just been presented by the Federal Republic of Germany. We very much hope that this text will command the sympathy and support of all delegations, and that the sentiments it expresses will be reflected in our concluding document.

Questions Relating to Security in Europe— Military Confidence-Building Measures and Aspects of Security and Disarmament.

Under this heading, the meeting reviewed implementation of, and new proposals relating to, the military aspects of *détente* set out in the first chapter of the Final Act: namely, confidence-building measures such as the prior notification of military manoeuvres and movements, and certain other aspects of security and disarmament. Canada was a co-sponsor of a proposal dealing with improved implementation of confidence-building measures.

“Improving Confidence-Building Measures.”

October 24, 1977.

During the discussion in the general plenary debate on first-chapter issues, the special representative of my Foreign Minister mentioned — and I subsequently reiterated — that the Canadian delegation sees an important connection between the military and political provisions of the Final Act's text — in the interests of decreasing mistrust and increasing confidence

Confidence, Mr. Chairman, is one of the underlying themes of the Final Act as a whole. We believe that confidence is not, unfortunately, an established state of affairs; it is rather an area needing development, and this is nowhere made more explicit than in the text on confidence-building measures. The need for further development was obviously recognized when the Final Act was drafted and signed, for that document specifically enjoins us to make further efforts to develop and enlarge the basic measures agreed to. We are convinced that *détente* as a whole cannot flourish without a vital and viable military dimension. In the context of the CSCE this means, pre-eminently, the application and evolution of confidence-building measures. Canada is pleased to have been able to participate with other states in notifying manoeuvres in which Canadian troops took part, and, again in concert with others, to have received observers and shown them our troops carrying out manoeuvres. We have also sent observers when invited, and, of course, received notifications from others.

To our mind, the viability and usefulness of the arrangements we have all subscribed to have been amply demonstrated. We have, however, noted that some states are more forthcoming than others and have pursued the more discretionary provisions of the Final Act rather than being content merely to comply with the bare minimum that is required. The task of developing these measures is therefore twofold: to bring about a consistent implementation among all 35 of us — which is not yet the case — and to refine and deepen our commitment.

In this task we must concentrate on the core of the subject — the threshold, the information given, the question of notifying military move-

ments — and not on peripheral matters of lesser importance to strengthening confidence among the broad masses of our peoples.

To illustrate: contacts between military personnel are useful to those who are in contact, but it is even more important that governments should have clear and timely information about the military activities of other states. To the extent that this same information is available to, and understood by, the population at large, the contribution to confidence will be the greater. Unlike other provisions of the Final Act, however, the significance of CBMs lies more in the voluntary disclosure of reassuring information than in the facilitation and development of closer contacts as such. Both are important, but the core is the military activities of states rather than that of individuals . . .

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“Reflections on Disarmament Proposals Presented by Warsaw Pact Delegations at Belgrade.”

December 2, 1977.

The Soviet proposal entitled “Program of Action with a View to the Consolidation of Military *Détente* in Europe” calls for the preparation of a treaty on the non-first use of nuclear weapons. Such a treaty would clearly be a major step of fundamental importance in the context of the military realities in Europe today. When one considers, by contrast, the comparative simplicity of the proposal to strengthen our commitment to notify manoeuvres and to start the notification of movements, and when one considers the apparent reluctance of certain states to go along with these comparatively simple proposals, it becomes strange indeed to contemplate the far more fundamental question of undertaking not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

In fact, Mr. Chairman, the clear imbalance in conventional forces in Europe makes it necessary for Canada, together with other states, to support a policy of flexible response to deter possible aggression. Thus it is our strategy to maintain peace by retaining the option of using nuclear weapons in defence in the event that conventional forces were unable to prevent any possible aggressor from overrunning Europe. This policy remains necessary for my country, unless we are to seriously diminish our national security.

We do, however, firmly subscribe to the Charter of the United Nations and the Second Principle of the Final Act in our commitment to refrain from the threat or use of force. We shall not use any weapon, be it conventional or nuclear, in contravention of those undertakings. Moreover, we would think it unwise to weaken this overriding principle by entering into any agreement to refrain from the use of one particular weapon system.

The next paragraph of the Soviet proposal concerns a restriction on the addition of new members to alliances. Once again, this proposal must be considered in light of the realities of the situation in Europe and contrasted again with the difficulty in agreeing to even much more modest proposals in our working body. In this light, I need not belabour the point as to why my delegation could not agree to an undertaking as proposed by the Soviet

Union. Further, we note that the Soviet Union and certain other states have a network of bilateral defence agreements which would largely enable their military interdependence to continue with or without the formalized existence of the Warsaw Pact Organization. This is not the case for the group of states with whom Canada co-operates for military security. My final point on this subject, Mr. Chairman, is to note, as others have before me, the sovereign right proclaimed in the Final Act for each state to be or not to be a party to treaties of alliances. We understand this principle to mean that this part of the Soviet proposal does not belong in this forum.

I would like now, Mr. Chairman, to turn to the subject of the special session of the United Nations General Assembly on disarmament next year and to the question of a world disarmament conference, and more particularly to the proposal submitted by Bulgaria. As a co-sponsor of the resolution of the United Nations General Assembly that called for the convening of the special session, Canada too considers that it is of great importance and we have high hopes that it will enable progress to be made in this most vital effort. When this working body enters the drafting stage, we believe that texts that have been submitted that deal with this subject are most suitable to enable us to find common ground for our concluding document.

We do not, however, regard the special session as being a preparation for the convening of a world disarmament conference. Such a conference could be productive but, in the view of my delegation, success will not be possible unless all militarily-important states participate — in particular, all nuclear-weapon states.

In a previous meeting, my Bulgarian colleague alluded to the agenda item for the special session in connection with the subject of a world disarmament conference. I should like to read out that agenda item. It calls for, and I quote, "review of the role of the United Nations in disarmament and of the international machinery for negotiations on disarmament, including, in particular, the question of holding a world disarmament conference". We regard this, therefore, as being exactly what it states, a "question" placed on the agenda for the special session. We would not, therefore, feel that at this stage our conference can go any further than that.

The final item that I would wish to address, Mr. Chairman, is the Romanian proposal to freeze military budgets at current levels. This is a most essential goal for all of us in light of the ever more urgent need to control the arms race. The fact is, though, that to reach this goal states must, as a first step, disclose their expenditures in detail and with common criteria as to just how these expenditures are to be categorized. Until this has been achieved,

my delegation would seriously question just what expenditures would be frozen, because certain countries divulge very little about their military budgets. However, in the spirit of the Romanian proposal, my delegation firmly supports that part of the proposal from the neutral and non-aligned states that calls for greater openness in military expenditures. If we can achieve such openness and go on to identify common criteria, then I would hope and trust that the next step could be to freeze budgets as proposed by Romania and then to keep moving towards actual reductions. But first openness, then criteria, then freeze, then reduce. I fully respect the Romanian delegation's sense of urgency in wishing to move two steps at a time. What would be difficult to understand, Mr. Chairman, would be if any delegation were at one and the same time to support a freeze or reduction of expenditure and oppose the idea of greater openness.

Co-operation in the Fields of Economics, of Science and Technology and of the Environment.

The Belgrade meeting reviewed progress in the implementation of the five sub-chapters of the economic chapter of the Final Act: commercial exchanges, industrial co-operation, science and technology, environment and co-operation in other areas (transport, tourism, migrant labour and the training of personnel). New proposals relating to one or other of these questions were subsequently discussed.

Movements, Access and Contacts.

October 13, 1977

My delegation has listened with interest and attention to interventions yesterday and this morning dealing with the important matters covered by the second chapter of the Final Act. We have always believed that the importance of this chapter has been underrated, probably because the issues with which it deals have a lower public interest profile than those dealt with elsewhere in the Final Act. This is not, however, to minimize their importance. On the contrary, it is precisely because of the less emotional character of the questions that we see in them possibilities for strengthening our mutual inter-relations and enhancing trust and confidence as a result.

I do not intend to mention all aspects of this chapter, although clearly my delegation will have things to say when the specific questions concerned are dealt with in the appropriate subsidiary working body. I should like, however, to make a few general observations about those aspects of this chapter which seem to us to have a special character.

As we have repeatedly affirmed, the Final Act is a unified whole and several themes run like *leit-motivs* right through it. One of these is the determination to build trust and confidence into our mutual relations. Another is that barriers to freer and fuller exchanges must be broken down. A third is that only through an ever-increasing range of contacts can barriers be dismantled so that confidence may take deeper root and flourish.

To those who negotiated the Final Act in Geneva the letters MAC had a special significance: mutually acceptable conditions. I would suggest, Mr Speaker, that in our present review of the second chapter we should see its unique contribution in terms of another MAC: movements, access and contacts.

It is perfectly plain to us all that we are not here to negotiate tariff reductions or trade agreements; these matters are more properly handled elsewhere. But it seems to me indisputable that the unique contribution which can be made by the implementation of the relevant passages of the Final Act is in fostering a climate of confidence and mutual awareness which

can have a profound influence on the evolution of broader economic, scientific and technological relations.

In the Canadian view, Mr Chairman, one of the things this conference is all about is barriers; not to construct them nor to accept and admire them, but slowly and deliberately to dismantle them. And surely this chapter above all others, if read with sensitivity, should indicate to us that a good many of the barriers which we find restricting and irritating are as often a reflection of administrative practices — dare I say bureaucracy — as they are of philosophical or ideological origin. Let us look at them in that light and see what we can do about it. This is not, of course, the whole story, but it is clearly a part of it.

It was in this spirit that in the opening debate last week, the special representative of my foreign minister pointed out that given the facts of interdependence in the contemporary world, it would become almost impossible to work together “unless we deal with each other in the spirit of mutual confidence that the Final Act was intended to import to our economic relations as to our relations over a wider spectrum”.

“Progress in the Field of Commercial Exchanges.”

October 19, 1977.

On the whole, Mr Chairman, Canada is satisfied with the trend in its commercial relations with the countries of Eastern Europe as it appears two years after Helsinki. While it is true that these relations have remained relatively modest in scope, we believe that the progress made in recent years and the outlook for the future are encouraging under the circumstances. The Government of Canada has done what was necessary and what it could do along these lines. Allow me to give an example of this action in the bilateral field, namely the long-term economic co-operation agreement we recently signed with the Soviet Union. I could mention other developments and other measures with a similar orientation. Measures to stimulate or facilitate trade within the framework of a liberal system and interventions in various international organizations — these are all manifestations of the way in which the Government of Canada's activities have been geared to provisions of the Final Act.

Having said this, as others have also said, we must realize that a certain number of concerns or problems remain in trade relations between market-economy countries, including my own, and planned-economy countries. I am thinking of the conception of reciprocity, as it appears in the fifth paragraph of the preamble and elsewhere. I am referring to the difficulty spoken of in the paragraph on safeguards, in the General Provisions. More generally, we must consider the encouragement offered by the General Provisions to the diversification of exchanges. Other difficulties, other stumbling-blocks, of a more specific (I could say a more basic) nature still remain. Here, I am thinking of the progress we must hope to see, particularly in the fields of business contacts and information.

“The Importance of Improving Business Contacts and Facilities.”

October 24, 1977.

My delegation today wishes to discuss the question of business contacts and facilities which is, as we all know, the subject of the second section of the chapter on commercial exchanges. As I begin, Mr Chairman, I shall not surprise anyone if I point out the importance my delegation attaches to this question. There are two distinct types of reason for this. First of all, there are commercial reasons, and I do not need to repeat the extremely clear and convincing points my British and American colleagues have made. There is as well the more general and perfectly obvious fact that, after all, business contacts are only one of many kinds of contact, and as such they fit into one of this conference’s major themes — the conditions under which individuals have access to each other, and how they can meet and communicate directly. I do not intend to heat up the debate, but it will be understood that this section is of particular interest to my delegation because of this fact.

Mr Chairman, my delegation has naturally studied the reports from our various missions concerning our commercial relations, particularly with the Eastern countries. The fact is that, in relation to these countries, the most difficult, most regrettable and most constantly-recurring subjects are those relating to this section on business contacts and facilities.

Let us consider these contacts. Remember that the participating states agreed to work to improve conditions, especially with respect to opportunities for contacts between sellers and users — with a view to studying the commercial opportunities and signing contracts, as well as to supervising their execution and ensuring after-sales service. In reality, this is a question of ease of access for businessmen and other interested parties, both at the initial-contact stages and later. In this respect, we must be fair. The fact is that the same situation does not prevail in all countries. In Poland, for example, we see that contacts with interested organizations are relatively easy. In Hungary, as well, though to a somewhat lesser degree and though the initial contact is made through foreign-trade organizations, the user organizations are accessible and relations can be established without the introduction of over-complicated

procedures. The situation is quite different in some of the larger Eastern countries. There, initial contacts are not so easy, access to user organizations is rare and, to cite only one example of difficulty, it would be nearly useless for a businessman to go there on business without having been invited. All the same, it is true to say that in recent years there have been some signs of progress in the field of contacts. Moreover, we are happy to see that this was one of the very points emphasized in the recently signed-agreement on long-term economic co-operation with this nation.

The administrative constraints are even stronger in the case of certain other countries, and it may be asked whether any real interests are served by this situation. With one such country, our trade representatives, based so far in Vienna, have been battling nearly insurmountable odds — delays, lack of response or late responses from the ministries involved. I shall not bore you with the details of these transactions, Mr Chairman — and perhaps this is an extremely isolated case — but nevertheless it is difficult to see the association between some of these practices and the text we have before us.

Until now I have spoken of access and business contacts on the territories of these countries. Another aspect involves visits by, or sometimes invitations to, officials in the organizations involved, so that they may come and see what is being done at our end. To take only one example, three times recently, in the country I was just mentioning, invitations have been extended through the appropriate channels for officials or trade delegations to come to Canada, at our expense, to examine the work or products in which they had shown an interest. Each time our invitation has gone unheeded, even though there had been indications of definite interest.

My purpose is not to criticize, Mr Chairman, but rather to invite reflection on certain points. Who gains anything from such behaviour? It is tempting to say that everyone loses — not only the country or business interested in exports but also the country interested in imports, which deprives itself of an opportunity for greater choice and of the means of ascertaining that the product considered for purchase corresponds exactly to its requirements. There has been talk of the "system", Mr Chairman, but not everything is part of the system. We must not confuse system with circumstances, and the best proof of this is that, in some countries, conditions for business contacts have improved without the system changing significantly.

I am now coming to the physical conditions for some of these contacts. It will be remembered that the section we are considering obliged the states to improve working conditions for the representatives of foreign organizations, corporations, firms and banks interested in external trade. After this paragraph come three sub-paragraphs, the first of which deals with the information

needed for the establishment and operation of permanent offices and the second with the most favourable reception possible of requests for establishment of permanent representation, including the opening of offices shared by two or more firms. Finally, the third deals with the provision of the most favourable conditions possible and equal conditions for everyone — hotel accommodations, means of communication and other services, as well as suitable office and residential space.

On these questions, Mr Chairman, the Canadian experience has been like that of the other delegations that have spoken in detail on these points. Progress has been made in certain areas, and we must recognize it; it may also be said that the circumstances call for even more progress. One country, for example, has just passed a new law permitting the establishment of permanent representation by foreign companies, and this is a step forward. But the other side of the story is that the legislation does not apply, strictly speaking, to businesses of a productive nature; and, in addition, it puts serious limitation on the choice of personnel by such representations. In other words, for many firms such restrictions counterbalance the advantages they might have enjoyed by virtue of this legislation. Another country, for example, is going to open a foreign-trade centre; here, too, we must acknowledge a significant step. But, on the other hand, as my British colleague pointed out, we must not lose sight of the fact that such a centre serves only certain kinds of need. And, as for the office space now available, can we be certain that these offices — or rooms — are available, as the texts recommends, "in conditions as favourable and equitable as possible for all representatives" of these organizations? On the subject of these physical conditions, in some cases I recognize the validity of the argument of the distinguished representative from Bulgaria, that of differing levels of development. But this is exactly the point — if the means are limited, supposing they were distributed fairly, would not this require more flexibility in the regulations and practices? I do not mean, Mr Chairman, to single out any delegation in particular, but it will be agreed that the combination of limited physical conditions and restrictive procedures and regulations constitutes a considerable disincentive to trade, and that the businessman who was interested at first will either abandon his efforts or will pass the extra costs on, in the end, to his clients.

If I may, I should like to point out more generally the benefits which can be realized by business from limited — even very limited — improvements, as long as they are directed at the heart of the matter. Here, there would be some simplification of procedures; there, a periodic inventory of their importing and user firms, including a simple list of the names of the officials to contact, or a compendium of the legislation regarding the estab-

lishment of permanent delegations. None of these is very ambitious, and many countries have already begun to take such steps. Our businesses are primarily interested in measures which will save them time.

Improvements of this kind would be of particular importance to the small and medium-sized firms, which are especially vulnerable to the difficulties I have mentioned. Canada has a high regard for the place occupied by such firms within its total production and export capacity and, since the goal is to enlarge and diversify trade relations among the participating states, it is to be hoped that such firms will share fully in the benefits of this trend.

“The Need for Better Economic and Commercial Information.”

October 26, 1977.

I must point out that our experience has been very much like that of our Western partners so far as economic and commercial information from the Eastern countries is concerned. I must also mention that, as in the area of contacts, the situation differs noticeably from country to country, although there is one common characteristic — which is a kind of tension between the information available and the information required. Nevertheless one can, for the sake of argument, identify three distinct types. On one hand there are countries — or at least one country — where real efforts have led to a situation where information, particularly of a statistical nature, is widely available and of adequate quality. I would put Hungary in this class. Undoubtedly there are still some gaps in the statistical field — and this also applies to other countries I will mention — but the situation generally appears good, at least from the standpoint of commercial requirements.

At the opposite end of the spectrum, in contrast, are the countries where information needs are constantly coming up against limitations; either the information does not exist, or it is not accessible, which often amounts to the same thing. These are situations that lead one to ask whether there have been any significant changes in this field since Helsinki. Finally, there is an intermediate state of affairs, where, although efforts have been made, there are still serious deficiencies. I should like to speak at greater length concerning these last two categories.

In the Soviet Union, to speak first of statistics, it must be realized that a substantial mass of documentation and data now exists. As well, we know that, in addition to annual statistics on foreign trade, these figures are now published on a quarterly basis — and this is a positive step. We also know that agricultural and industrial production statistics exist, on an annual basis. In addition there is a fund of statistical and other information in chamber-of-commerce publications and other specialized or general-interest publications. This does not prevent our representatives from considering the lack of information as a real difficulty. Why?

First of all, we have seen that this information, particularly with respect to statistics, is of very uneven quality. The quarterly statistics I mentioned — and some annual statistics, for that matter — lack a great deal in precision. This is the first problem, which also applies to the articles of which I spoke. This lack of precision often means that it is difficult for our representatives to know exactly what the various statistics relate to and even more difficult to compare them, with the added complication of variations in the bases for the calculations.

Another problem is the time-lapse. For example, the annual foreign-trade statistics for 1975 did not become available until late in 1976. Are such delays truly unavoidable?

For the moment, I shall leave it at that so far as statistics are concerned. The real difficulty is that, despite the efforts which may have been made in this field, our representatives — both official and others — regret the lack of dependable, coherent and complete statistics, available within reasonable time-limits.

Another field in which our representatives find inadequacies is that of projections and forecasting — the future, in short — and you can see how important it is for businessmen to be able to get a fairly precise idea of the outlook. Finally, the last shortcoming to which I wish to draw your attention is the lack of directories with the names and telephone numbers of various organizations and of the officials in these organizations whom foreign businessmen or their official agents may contact. This may seem a small thing, but our representatives consider the lack of such a directory a real handicap, and I would like to point out that one paragraph of the section we are discussing relates specifically to this kind of information.

I am coming to the third category I mentioned, in which one has the impression of large shadowy areas and in which the inadequacy of economic and business information is the first obstacle encountered. Bulgaria may be used as an example in this respect. As it happens, the distinguished representative of Bulgaria spoke a few moments ago and I listened with interest to his remarks. I shall, therefore, not bore you with the details of the points discussed by other delegations, which I was going to speak on at greater length. The fact remains that the two major publications, the statistical yearbook and the foreign-trade yearbook, are late in appearing. The fact is that they are published in insufficient number — 900 copies of the foreign-trade statistics, they say. That is very few and the problem is not simplified by the fact that this publication is apparently not available through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I am stating these facts, Mr Chairman, because they have been reported to us by our representatives as significant for our trade relations

and it makes one wonder if real progress has been made in this area since Helsinki.

The situation I have been describing raises another question, that of information which the officials have on hand and which they are ready to distribute in response to an official request. It is quite obvious that the more the published information leaves to be desired — often with regard to rather basic questions — the greater is our tendency and the greater our need to speak to an official. But can we be certain, in such cases, that the officials are ready to co-operate as fully as possible? A sort of reticence, a somewhat defensive attitude, can be noticed.

Two principles have been set out in the field of statistics: first, quality, including accuracy; second, regularity — that is, the least possible delay between the moment of publishing the data and the time to which they refer. A third characteristic that I would ask the delegations to consider as a principle is that the statistics should appear automatically.

I have spoken of Bulgaria in this context; I could also mention Romania, where, for example, our representatives recently encountered some difficulty in obtaining up-to-date information on the pulpwood industry. I could also mention Czechoslovakia in this connection, in relation to specific statistics in a number of sectors.

These considerations lead me to speak of two complementary means which my Government hopes to see pursued regarding economic and commercial information. First of all, bilateral channels, since they exist already, particularly commercial consultation and sessions of joint committees. This provides a practical framework which my Government finds naturally appropriate for an exchange of accurate, thorough information on the economic and commercial activity of the parties involved. I would add that this is a field in which our past experience has not been as satisfactory as it might have been. Thus I am asking the delegations to consider this channel of information, if they will, especially since it is dealt with in one paragraph of the Final Act. A natural complement to this channel is the multilateral channel, including the ECE, GATT and UNCTAD, and, while we recognize the results already achieved in the ECE, we believe the usefulness of these organizations in the information sphere has room to grow.

“Progress and Possibilities for Scientific and Technological Co-operation.”

November 3, 1977.

The most remarkable event since Helsinki has been the conclusion of the long-term agreement between the Governments of Canada and the Soviet Union concerning economic, industrial, scientific and technical co-operation. This agreement establishes a framework for possible co-operation between Canada and the Soviet Union, including co-operation in the fields of science and technology, for the next ten years. There are some very positive elements in this and we, for our part, contemplate the continuation of this co-operation and intend to give it the fullest expression desirable.

As for other Eastern European countries, I must admit that our scientific and technological relations are in a more preliminary stage. It is true that in recent years a certain number of these countries have expressed the desire to sign general co-operation agreements with us in these fields and naturally we have welcomed these proposals with great interest. Nevertheless, these considerations lead me to state Canada's position on such agreements in some detail.

Canada does not consider such agreements of a general and intergovernmental nature either as panaceas or as points of departure — or even as necessarily desirable in themselves. If they are needed, and if they must be of an intergovernmental nature, we prefer that they should confirm existing and active relations. Before we make the frame, we must have the picture that goes inside it. I do not deny that our position is based on our experience. The fact is that, while we are generally satisfied with the level of and outlook for our co-operation in the field with the Soviet Union, we are aware of the cost and the administrative burden of co-operation founded on such bases. Similarly, I do not deny the existence of a certain feeling of disappointment among our scientists with respect to co-operation — and particularly exchanges with the Eastern countries in the fields we are discussing. Were they expecting too much? Have they found that the benefits do not sufficiently outweigh the difficulties? The facts are there.

From this arises the need to ensure that such co-operation, though it

must be formalized at the governmental level, already rests on a solid foundation. This fact makes us think that the first stage should consist in the identification of subjects of common interest that may lead to reciprocal advantages through co-operation. This is the stage we have reached with Hungary and Poland, for example. The second stage, co-operation, begins in earnest through exchanges and contacts between interested individuals and organizations, based on *ad hoc* arrangements if necessary. I spoke of reciprocal benefits, Mr Chairman. I did so because this is a notion that has its place in the section of the Final Act we are discussing and because it is central to our position. In this respect the conditions for scientific and technological co-operation are closely related, in our opinion, to those for industrial co-operation — that is, the best basis for pursuing it is found in the mutually-perceived interests of the partners who are directly involved.

Finally, I come to the text of the Final Act, and I do so willingly since this text is generally quite good. It is good because in certain respects it is particularly explicit.

The text is . . . explicit in the multiplicity of methods of co-operation it recognizes and recommends for use. I am thinking of the section on forms and methods of co-operation, as well as the fourth paragraph of the preamble, in which the participating states recognize that this co-operation may be achieved both bilaterally and multilaterally, both on governmental and non-governmental levels, by intergovernmental and other kinds of agreement, by international programs, by co-operative projects as well as commercial channels, and by the use of various forms of contact, including direct and individual contacts. My proposal is not meant to rekindle old quarrels but, putting the two paragraphs I mentioned side by side, the delegations should ask themselves if everything has really been done in their countries to eliminate obstacles in the area of direct, individual contacts

Co-operation in Humanitarian and Other Fields.

As with the other two areas of the Final Act, the Belgrade meeting undertook to review implementation and to examine new proposals under the four main divisions of the 'Third Basket' — human contacts, information, culture and education. Canada joined with other Western countries in co-sponsoring four proposals: one stipulating that family-reunification applications should be granted as a matter of course; two complementing specific provisions of the texts in the Final Act on family reunification and marriage between nationals of different participating states; and a fourth dealing with access to printed information.

“Human Contacts — Progress since Helsinki.”

October 13, 1977.

The text of the Final Act's chapter on co-operation in humanitarian and related fields reflects and embodies the conviction of the participating states that freer movement and contacts among people, as well as wider dissemination of and greater access to information and cultural achievements, will contribute to *détente* by increasing mutual knowledge among our people, thus reducing the suspicion and the tension bred of ignorance. The provisions of this chapter outline measures that our governments have agreed to undertake on the unilateral, bilateral and multilateral levels to translate this conviction into tangible results.

To dismantle barriers, to remove obstacles, we believe that this is one of the Final Act's essential messages. Our interpretation of this message will govern the position of my delegation when we examine the implementation of objectives to date, and when we identify the obstacles to carrying them out further and when we consider proposals aimed at overcoming these impediments.

It follows from this definition of the intentions expressed in the chapter on humanitarian and other questions that our discussions might be more coherent and positive if we kept uppermost in mind a few salient features of the text.

A key word repeated in many of its introductory passages, and in the chapter's substantive provisions as well, is “spirit”. To our mind this notion is neither vague nor abstract. Rather it is a guide to participating states to adopt a favourable attitude, a positive approach, towards implementing the measures they agreed upon when they signed the Final Act, and to establish standards of conduct which conform to the Final Act. The notion of “spirit” also reminds us that it was not intended that the carrying-out of our objectives would be static but rather a continuing process in which each government would seek new ways to improve implementation. It is difficult to imagine a state of affairs in which we could all say, with satisfaction, that all provisions of the Final Act had been fully implemented and that we could rest on our

oars; it is not so difficult, however, to conceive of a continuing creative effort aimed at a broad range of goals which we have set for ourselves. Accordingly, at this first review of the implementation of the objectives and provisions of the Final Act, we should direct our attention to those measures which call upon governments to take unilateral actions and we should encourage a wider development, in practice, of this commitment. We should aim at strengthening the application of procedures which would be automatically put into effect in a humanitarian spirit without lengthy bilateral negotiations or interventions at the official level. This is particularly important now, because our willingness to establish common practices to help our people meet and reunite with their families, and to marry across national frontiers and to receive the information and cultural material of their choice, will unquestionably influence the scope — and, indeed, the ultimate success — of actions we may subsequently undertake on the bilateral and multilateral levels in the furtherance of *détente*.

It would be difficult to overemphasize the importance that we attach to the proposition that *détente* must have practical and concrete meaning in order to be permanent. It is only to the extent that *détente* is seen to facilitate procedures and improve conditions for individuals that it will be supported by public opinion. And, finally, only if it is supported by public opinion will it be possible for governments to pursue and develop *détente* as a major goal of their activities in the international community.

When reviewing what has happened in the human contacts field since the Final Act was signed, my Government has formulated a number of general impressions, if not conclusions.

Clearly all problems have not been resolved and much remains to be done. But is it our impression that from some countries more people than before are travelling abroad for meetings based on family ties, or to reunite family members more permanently, or to contract marriage with citizens of other countries. It must be noted that in many instances these cases have been the subject of discussions between the governments involved and these are often very time-consuming. We welcome this increased movement of people, of course. But are the controls applied to it still excessive? And why, in many instances, need it be preceded by bilateral negotiations or official interventions? We still note that many applicants for visas are repeatedly refused, often those identified with various "categories" grouped together in terms of age, profession, ethnic affiliation and those who wish to meet members of their families abroad who are judged as "illegal emigrants" by the authorities responsible for issuing visas. It does not always seem to us that applications for visas to meet and reunite with families are being dealt with

as "expeditiously as possible" or even, sometimes, that they are receiving more prompt attention than before Helsinki. We still note that in some countries information about procedures for applying for visas to travel abroad is not readily available to those who may wish it, and that the reasons for refusing to issue visas are not always forthcoming. In several countries we detect what appears to be a tendency to refuse to permit all members of a family to travel abroad together. Surely, Mr. Chairman, this practice is not in the spirit of the Final Act. In other cases we observe that the fees charged in connection with these applications are not at a moderate level — when a visa can cost more than the average monthly wage in a country — or that successful applicants may be required to reimburse their governments for a university education before they can depart.

The Canadian Government is particularly concerned with the questions of contacts and regular meetings on the basis of family ties and the reunification of families. This is because these issues directly affect the lives of thousands of Canadians, many of whom have come to Canada in recent years and wish to be reunited with other members of their family — surely one of the most basic human aspirations and deserving to be treated in the most generous and humane spirit by the governments of all participating states. While we are pleased to note that increasing numbers of people from the participating states are being permitted by their governments to meet and reunite with their families in Canada and that some procedural improvements have been effected, we cannot overlook that these people are often still faced with slow and discriminatory exit procedures and that they and their families sometimes experience disadvantages because they have applied for visas to travel abroad or emigrate for family reasons. We hope that, as a result of our deliberations here, participating states will resolve to adopt a standard of conduct which would overcome these obstacles through a more expeditious, just and financially less-onerous means of dealing with applications — thus reflecting the humanitarian and positive spirit of the Final Act.

If we can achieve only one thing at this present meeting, my delegation would express the hope that it would be to ensure a greater degree of automaticity, surrounded by a greater awareness of the fact that we are dealing with human beings and not statistics, in addressing our efforts towards the continuing resolution of problems in the human contacts field.

Above all, we must not be dazzled or fooled by statistics. We can take pride and satisfaction from evidence that, for example, nine out of ten outstanding cases may have been resolved, but that is not, in the end, the point. The fact that one case may remain constitutes a continuing measure of our failure in just as important a sense as the nine resolved cases bear

witness to our efforts and, indeed, mutual good faith. We must continue to look not only at that one outstanding case but at the reasons for it.

Our general impression, then, about human contacts is that, while some cases have been resolved and some procedural improvements have been effected, there is much room for improvement in the attitudes with which measures of implementation are approached.

“Information and Culture.”

October 13, 1977.

... What tentative judgments can we reach in the fields of information and culture? We find that the general public in some participating states seems not to have any more access to newspapers and other publications from some other countries than before Helsinki, although sometimes there may have been increases in the amount of material imported. This raises the question of statistical reciprocity; let us look at this carefully in the coming weeks to see what it means. May I suggest that it is not only a question of how many publications or films or other materials are imported but how many people can read and see them? May I also suggest that we address ourselves to the real problem; again we see it as barriers.

Several of the measures related to culture are imaginative, technical innovations envisaging activities between the participating states on the bilateral and multilateral links, often with the assistance of appropriate international organizations. We believe that many of them would greatly further co-operation between the participating states. However, the full implementation of these projects will depend, at least in part, on unilateral action by governments aimed at promoting direct contacts between people engaged in cultural activities and at facilitating wider dissemination of and access to cultural achievements.

“The Promotion of a Freer Flow of Information since Helsinki — The Canadian View.”

October 31, 1977.

I listened carefully to some of my colleagues from Eastern Europe who stated that their countries imported from three to five times more printed information from the West than *vice-versa*. Keeping in mind the observations of our colleague from Malta that our meeting is not intended only to discuss East-West problems, I can tell him that many of the issues deriving from the fact that some states are bigger than others are not unfamiliar to Canada — I wish to return to the question of the imbalance in the importation of printed information material. I identify this as an obstacle that we have also encountered. Despite the impressive claims of my colleagues from Eastern European countries, I am concerned that, as the Canadian commodity statistics I cited demonstrated, much less printed information material is imported by Eastern Europe from Canada than we import from that area. We suspect that the demand for information about Canada in those countries of Eastern Europe, where many people have relatives in my country, is not being met. We are also concerned about what we have perceived to be a lack of access to information about Canada for the general public in some Eastern European countries

In the context of the diffusion of information, we have run into other problems. The access to our embassies in certain Eastern European countries for people seeking printed information is limited by local authorities. In some cases, their citizens are simply prevented by militiamen from entering the chancery to obtain information about Canada. In other cases, the obstacle is more subtle: people are required to have a letter from the embassy. In either situation there is an impediment. Another problem I mentioned the other day is that in some Eastern European countries we are not permitted to diffuse policy-oriented and genuinely informative printed information by travelling exhibitions. Finally, in the context of our normal diplomatic activity, in some Eastern European countries we are restricted from mailing printed information material in the form of bulletins to the people we believe would be interested to receive it. Since this material is available gratis, surely the

so-called high cost of Western informational material is an argument not to be taken seriously. Also, why is the demand for films in our embassy *cinéma-thèques* so low in some Eastern European countries compared to other areas, and why are individuals apparently constrained from borrowing our films?

. . . Regarding an increase in the number of correspondents exchanged between Canada and the U.S.S.R., there is a distinct imbalance, with four Soviet journalists accredited in Canada and only one permanently-accredited and resident Canadian journalist in the Soviet Union. But, frankly, the working conditions in the Soviet Union for journalists are such as to discourage Canadians from exercising that profession there. Despite improvements recently announced by the Soviet authorities, access for Canadian journalists to their sources — both official and private — is still too restricted and so is travel in the Soviet Union. Moreover our experience with short exchanges of groups of journalists has been disappointing because of bureaucratic delays in the Soviet Union which have discouraged us from continuing what should be a useful activity. Canadian journalists have encountered difficult working conditions elsewhere in Eastern Europe. In one recent case, notes, tapes and films of a Canadian correspondent were confiscated at the Prague airport on departure by the local authorities, who accused him of contacting a political dissident. He had not done this, but it required several days and strong representations by the Canadian Government before these materials were returned.

Finally, I wish to associate my delegation with the concern just expressed by the distinguished representative of the United Kingdom about the confiscation of mail in some Eastern European countries. This is a matter of anxiety for Canada because of the large correspondence between Canadians and their relatives in these countries.

I have tried, then, Mr. Chairman, in these brief remarks, to identify some of the major obstacles encountered by Canada in implementing the provisions of the Final Act in the field of information. We believe that these impediments, as well as others noted by various delegations during this debate, should be taken into consideration when we set to drafting the relevant section of our final document

“Criteria for Improving Cultural Co-operation.”

November 7, 1977.

... According to Canada's analysis of the impediments to the implementation of the cultural provisions of the Final Act, these obstacles are of three orders. First, access to cultural achievements and contacts between people active in cultural fields are too restricted in some of the participating states. As our colleague from Belgium pointed out in his comments on practices in the Soviet Union, attempts to force cultural creation to conform to ideologically-inspired standards hampers its development. It leads to clandestine activities on the part of creative people, who must hide their works when they do not conform with official taste. It means that these people do not have sufficient access to contemporary trends and innovations and that they cannot indulge freely in the natural process of "cross-fertilization" with their contemporaries both at home and abroad. It means that the public at home and abroad does not have free access to their works and that artists and writers are deprived of the critical opinion so essential to the creative process. As our colleague from Poland said, Shakespeare is not British but international. What he meant, of course, is that the notion of cultural patrimony has an international dimension and, in situations such as I have just described, the international community is prevented access to a patrimony it has the right to claim.

Mr. Chairman, when you run down the list of measures in the sections of the Final Act relating to access and contacts, the meaning of what I have said becomes clear in terms of co-operation between the participating states. Authors in some countries are still denied international contacts and communications with publishing houses. Their works are passed furtively from hand to hand at home in the form of *samizdat* and have to be smuggled abroad. These people are discriminated against, harassed and even exiled. How can publishing houses take into account the demands of other states in determining the size of editions when they cannot contact these authors? How can we encourage our firms to conclude agreements leading to a greater increase in the number and diversity of works by authors from other participating states when we can't assure them of contacts with these authors? Is

the usefulness of holding a major book exhibition really served by censoring the contributions to it from other states? How can we expand the distribution of films when borrowing them from the *cinémathèques* in our embassies is restricted by local authorities, or when the films we submit for participation in festivals and film weeks are subject to censorship? Why are invitations addressed to people active in the cultural field so often refused, or simply not accepted, in the same countries with a frequency that leaves no choice but to conclude that direct international contacts for people in those countries are highly restricted?

The question of access and contacts is directly related to the bilateral and multilateral co-operation that we have set for ourselves as an objective. How can these exchanges be balanced and realize their full potential if some of the participants do not have full access to culture achievements at home and abroad and are not able to contact their contemporaries freely and directly? For instance, in the field of *avant-garde* painting, how can an art critic from a country where he is denied access to recent developments which are not recognized and even suppressed in his own country and who has little contact with events outside make a useful contribution to a seminar or colloquium on this subject?

These considerations are related to the second order of problems which derive from the lack of confidence in the individual and the *étatisation* of culture that prevails in some countries. I do not intend to go into the philosophy implied in this attitude. It has already been well explored in a number of recent interventions.

But we note that, with countries where the authorities do not trust the individual's taste, where they do not credit him with sufficient maturity to decide what he wants to see, read and hear, artistic and literary exchanges are unbalanced. On the one side, these restrictive attitudes mean that proposals to send performing artists and exhibitions of various kinds are often turned down because they do not conform to official views on acceptable artistic forms and expressions in some countries, while, on the other side, these same countries are given a free hand to express their cultural achievements abroad as they wish.

Some delegations here have complained about what they perceive to be imbalances in cultural exchanges, adducing various statistics which sometimes do not stand up clearly in the face of facts and figures cited by other delegations. But have they ever questioned that the practices of their governments which restrict the importation of cultural goods — whether books or films or exhibitions or concerts — because they insist on deciding what can be presented to their citizens also lead to imbalance? Mr. Chairman these

decisions often do not correspond with what is available, what is considered a legitimate artistic creation in a free world where the artist's imagination finds its own unfettered and anguished way, which sometimes shocks and offends our conventional sensibilities but is nonetheless valid and worthy of international consideration and criticism.

The differing approaches among the participating states to organizational and administrative practices in the field of culture lead me to the third order of obstacles concerned with what might be called "technical problems". I am encouraged that delegations have stated their authorities are studying these problems and searching for solutions. For instance, the high rate of insuring artistic exhibitions abroad is surely an impediment to the co-operation we are seeking

The preference of some countries for conducting cultural exchanges through bilateral agreements, as opposed to the direct, case-by-case approach, favoured by others, creates obstacles related to the natural lethargy and unimaginativeness of any bureaucracy. There are delays created while unwieldy committees manned by unqualified bureaucrats — unqualified in the sense that they are often not practitioners, or only conformists to the ruling wisdom — decide what is acceptable — what foreign cultural manifestations can be let in and who can be let out to make contacts abroad.

Canada has cultural agreements with France, Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany and Italy, and a comprehensive general exchanges agreement with the U.S.S.R. which covers exchanges in many fields, including culture and education. It is not the policy of the Canadian Government to increase the number of formal cultural agreements, as cultural exchanges, whether based on strict reciprocity or not, can in many cases be carried out without an intergovernmental agreement. The absence of a formal agreement with a cultural partner in no way indicates any intention on the part of either to depreciate such relations. Rather, it can be a mutual recognition that, because resources are never unlimited, each must retain some flexibility and avoid commitments that may later no longer reflect the same priorities. It can also mean that the general state of relations is so little hampered by any major political or other difficulties that an agreement becomes superfluous. It should be noted that Canada does not have cultural agreements with two of its most important CSCE partners (Britain and the United States) but nevertheless has developed important cultural programs in those countries.

The problem of non-convertability of currencies poses severe impediments. Other considerations aside, it means, for instance, that, in the international commerce of books, Eastern European countries buy from Canada less than one-third of what we purchase from those countries. In the impor-

tation of educational, scientific and cultural materials, the improvement of international understanding through the reduction of trade barriers, as foreseen by the Florence Agreement, must be complemented by the removal of quantitative import controls and the protective restriction embodied in the copyright laws of some countries.

Closing Canadian Statement

By the Honourable Norman Cafik, Minister of State for Multiculturalism and Special Representative of the Secretary of State for External Affairs, March 9, 1978

When our meeting began its work here last October, our agenda contained two main items which were logically linked to each other. The first was to hold a careful and objective review of the current state of implementation of the Final Act. The second was to consider new proposals designed not to rewrite the Final Act but to deepen our collective commitment to its purposes and to improve the quality of our performance. We successfully pursued the first objective by holding a wide-ranging, frank and honest review of implementation. Even if a real dialogue was never achieved between us, the course of our deliberations showed clearly how much still remained to be done. It is all the more unfortunate that we seemingly failed to realize the negative impact resulting from the shortcomings of incomplete implementation and the effect such gaps may have on future expectations and achievement. This is evident from the minimal document with which we conclude our meeting. It is a source of disappointment to my Government that this document does not reflect the vital substantive concerns of participating states, in that we could not agree to express the need for more positive and constructive efforts so as to make the Final Act a more vital and dynamic part of the relations between us.

It is regrettable that we could not even agree on a factual account for the public record. Public opinion in our countries has a right to expect some commonly-agreed assessment of how the Final Act has been implemented and how we propose to meet the commitments we have made in the period that lies ahead. Unfortunately they will not get this. Instead, the meeting has produced only a document reflecting lowest common denominators. We should have hoped that the two and a half years during which we had worked together to give substance to the provisions of the Final Act would have taken us beyond that. As it is, each of us will have to provide his own explanation of what took place here, with results that will undoubtedly vary with the particular perspective in which we each see the outcome of the Belgrade meeting.

Canada has never had illusions about the obstacles that lie in the way of full implementation of the Final Act. Our review confirmed only too clearly that after only two and a half years we are indeed a long way from improving security and promoting co-operation in Europe within the full measure of our capacities. But we also discovered that there is a deep-seated concern, on the part of all participating states, to seek progress on those parts of the Final Act of special interest to them. Our concern for positive achievement has certainly not diminished since Helsinki and, judging by the number of proposals tabled, this increased concern is shared by many, undoubtedly because expectations have been raised by the Final Act. This represents a positive potential that must not fail to find expression in Madrid, lest the expectations that have been raised be shattered.

It is evident from our statements over the past months what improvements in implementation Canada hoped to see emerge from Belgrade. There is the vital matter of improving security. In an effort to build on the experience we had gained in the past two and a half years, we tried with others to develop and refine the "confidence-building measures" relating particularly to military manoeuvres and movements. Our aim in this area was greater openness regarding military matters. In our view, this would contribute to increasing confidence as well as to reducing the risks of misunderstanding, if not of miscalculation. Our efforts, while commanding broad support, did not gain the consensus required.

The importance of halting the arms race and establishing more stable relations, particularly in Europe, where major military potentials are concentrated, was addressed by the conference, as was the need for progress on arms limitation and disarmament measures in the international organs that are mandated to negotiate these matters. Canada continues to believe that every opportunity must be seized, including those provided in the military provisions of the Final Act, to decelerate the arms race as an essential approach towards the building of greater confidence.

We also had a useful discussion about the many opportunities for greater co-operation in the economic and related areas that the Final Act has opened up. It was our hope that, as a result, agreement could be reached on a certain number of proposals that, by reflecting our common willingness to remove some of the obstacles that continue to impede co-operation, would have enhanced those opportunities. Here, as in other domains covered by the Final Act, it is Canada's objective to reduce impediments to open access to relevant information and to facilitate contacts between those in our countries who alone are in a position to translate the commitments of governments into more effective and more pervasive linkages. We had also hoped that, as

we discussed these matters, we could look beyond the particular language of our mandate at the economic problems and responsibilities we shared as part of the industrial community within the larger world system. We regard this as a direction in which our relations must evolve if the assumptions that lie at the basis of the Final Act are to have real substance.

From the beginning, Canada has placed particular emphasis on the humanitarian dimension of our work. We see this as a fundamental, unique and indispensable contribution of the CSCE process to the development of *détente*. We were heartened that the review of implementation confirmed that these humanitarian questions are a legitimate subject of multilateral discussion. Most of us do not regard such issues as family reunification as being of secondary importance, waiting in the wings while political and military considerations occupy centre stage. If anything, our deliberations here in Belgrade have confirmed us in our view that human rights will remain a central preoccupation of our Government and most other governments represented here as we move forward in meeting our mutual commitments.

In approaching this question, Canada proceeded on the basis that relations between states cannot remain unaffected where respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms is seen to be deficient. Our discussions have shown that we have a long, long way to go, and this will take time before we can feel confident that the inherent dignity of the human person and his prerogative to know and act upon his rights are being respected in all places and in all circumstances. There is evidence that individuals who have tried to exercise rights that are endorsed in the Final Act are still being harassed, exiled, arrested, tried and imprisoned. This has led the Parliament of Canada to adopt resolutions as a unanimous expression of its deep concern in respect of what we see as violations of fundamental human rights. We earnestly hope that the attention that we have focused on these matters will encourage governments to reflect on the negative impact of their practices.

We had hoped that Belgrade would be the occasion for all signatory governments not only to reaffirm their pledges to respect human rights but also to act on them. We have never claimed that human rights are all there is to *détente*. What we have claimed and what we do claim is that, to the extent that *détente* rests on confidence, we cannot muster that confidence among our citizens unless it is seen to have a human dimension. Respect for human rights is part of the structure and balance of the Final Act. If we want the Final Act to be more than the sum of its parts, we cannot with impunity act as if the societies to which it relates were islands cut off from one another. Our concerns on these humanitarian issues are not motivated

by a desire to wage ideological warfare, or to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries.

In the specific area of human contacts, we tried to get acceptance for the idea that the provisions of the Final Act should be applied in such a way that family contacts — whether involving visits or reunification — would be facilitated as a normal routine so that such cases no longer would have to be the subject of individual negotiation between governments. We also tried to get agreement that governments would facilitate normal communication of ideas and information between individuals, particularly through the freer flow of printed material. For a country like Canada, with its close links with Europe, this is a matter of direct and practical relevance. As Canada's Minister of State for Multiculturalism, I am particularly conscious of the degree to which events in Europe have found their way into the consciences of our nation, and especially of that large portion of our population who trace their origins to Europe. In a freedom-loving society such as ours, questions of culture, religion and tradition are of fundamental importance and are to be respected along with civil and political rights.

We regret that our efforts to achieve a document of substance on these issues have been unavailing. We had hoped that, in this important area, it might be possible to distil some understanding about how the provisions of the Final Act could be carried out more effectively and in a more routine way. Some may be made uncomfortable by a discussion of these humanitarian concerns, but distaste for them will not make them go away. Certainly, Canadian interest in them will not cease just because this meeting has ended. Our commitment to these goals will be vigorously maintained.

Canada will persist in underlining the importance of the humanitarian objectives for CSCE and *détente* that we, together with like-minded delegations, tried to advance here at Belgrade. We stand by the approach to *détente* we took at the outset of the meeting. In our view, it is fundamental that the individual has a central role in the furtherance of *détente*. Its benefits must be passed along to the individual, so as to give him the widest possible opportunity for living in a safe and humane world, and for enjoying economic security, cultural enrichment and normal human relations.

We were charged by the Final Act to give consideration to the development of the process of *détente* in the future. Since the results of the Belgrade meeting are less than we thought possible or desirable, it is almost inevitable that there will be scepticism about the value of the CSCE process, or even conceivably about *détente* itself. In the view of Canadians (and this probably is true of citizens in many of the other participating states), *détente* does not have an independent existence. The public will weigh the reality of *détente*

on the basis of results. We suspect, in view of the high expectations of our public, that it will be a source of disappointment in Canada that the ideas that we hold to be so fundamental, and that we have advanced so persistently and strongly, have not been reflected in the document because of this meeting's inability to achieve consensus. However, we reaffirm our continuing commitment to these concepts and values.

I would, therefore, urge all delegations to give serious thought to what the meeting that has just taken place may mean for the broader process of *détente* and the CSCE. Some may argue that *détente* will not be much affected by this meeting or by public opinion. To some this may be a comforting thought, but they should not take it to be a foregone conclusion. The CSCE is not incidental to *détente*. On the contrary, it is a major international effort, focusing on the two vital and complementary aspects of *détente* — the pressing issues of security and the effort to map out a broad range of co-operative relations. To have been unable to record common views on these matters here in Belgrade is in itself a commentary on how little any of us can take *détente* for granted.

The Canadian Government, for its part, remains firmly attached to the policy of *détente*. But *détente*, by definition, is a two-way street. It will not exist simply because we say to ourselves that it must. If we want it to be a reality, we must make it a reality. The lesson of Belgrade must not go unlearned. But we must be sure that we understand what it is. That we have not succeeded in putting words on paper is unfortunate. But it is not the heart of the matter. The heart of the matter is that commitments freely undertaken at Helsinki are carried out in practice. For that we should not need verbal reminders. The language of the Final Act is clear. We did not come here to alter it, and its provisions remain an indispensable yardstick against which performance will be measured. At Madrid we shall have a clearer picture of where we stand. It will then be five years from the signature of the Final Act. Public opinion in our countries is not likely to grant us much of a further reprieve if we are not seen by then to have pursued the course we charted together at Helsinki with a greater sense of commitment and with greater imagination. Belgrade and Madrid may be important milestones on that course. But the real test of the CSCE lies in the commitment we are prepared to give to its continuity, and in whether concrete adjustments will be made in our national policies. We should not look to a miracle at Madrid to relieve us of the responsibilities of proper performance between now and then.

Some undoubtedly feel frustrated and disappointed in the concrete achievements to date.

I ask them whether, a decade ago, they would have even envisaged that meetings such as this would ever have taken place.

Can anyone have doubts as to the value of nations of differing ideologies sitting down together and freely and frankly discussing their mutual concerns?

It is a significant and positive step forward. As long as this process of dialogue continues, we need not be discouraged.

Concluding Document

Of the Belgrade Meeting 1977 of representatives of the participating states of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, held on the basis of the provisions of the Final Act relating to the follow-up to the conference

The representatives of the participating States of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, appointed by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of these States, met at Belgrade from 4 October 1977 to 9 March 1978 in accordance with the provisions of the Final Act relating to the Follow-up to the Conference.

The participants received a message from the President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, and were addressed by Mr. Milos Minic, Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council and Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Contributions were made by the following non-participating Mediterranean States: Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Lebanon, Morocco, Syria and Tunisia.

The representatives of the participating States stressed the importance they attach to *détente*, which has continued since the adoption of the Final Act in spite of difficulties and obstacles encountered. In this context they underlined the role of the CSCE, the implementation of the provisions of the Final Act being essential for the development of this process.

The representatives of the participating States held a thorough exchange of views both on the implementation of the provisions of the Final Act and of the tasks defined by the Conference, as well as, in the context of the questions dealt with by the latter, on the deepening of their mutual relations, the improvement of security and the development of co-operation in Europe, and the development of the process of *détente* in the future.

The representatives of the participating States stressed the political importance of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and reaffirmed the resolve of their Governments, to implement fully, unilaterally bilaterally and multilaterally, all the provisions of the Final Act.

It was recognized that the exchange of views constitutes in itself a valuable contribution towards the achievement of the aims set by the CSCE,

although different views were expressed as to the degree of implementation of the Final Act reached so far.

They also examined proposals concerning the above questions and the definition of the appropriate modalities for the holding of other meetings in conformity with the provisions of the chapter of the Final Act concerning the Follow-up to the Conference.

Consensus was not reached on a number of proposals submitted to the meeting.

In conformity with the relevant provisions of the Final Act and with their resolve to continue the multilateral process initiated by the CSCE, the participating States will hold further meetings among their representatives. The second of these meetings will be held in Madrid commencing Tuesday, 11 November 1980.

A preparatory meeting will be held in Madrid commencing Tuesday, 9 September 1980, to decide on appropriate modalities for the main Madrid Meeting. This will be done on the basis of the Final Act as well as of the other relevant documents adopted during the process of the CSCE.*

It was also agreed to hold, within the framework of the Follow-up to the CSCE, the meetings of experts of the participating States indicated below.

In conformity with the mandate contained in the Final Act and according to the proposal made to this effect by the Government of Switzerland a meeting of experts will be convened at Montreux on 31 October 1978, charged with pursuing the examination and elaboration of a generally acceptable method for peaceful settlement of disputes aimed at complementing existing methods.

Upon the invitation of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, the meeting of experts envisaged in the Final Act in order to prepare a "Scientific Forum" will take place in Bonn starting on 20 June 1978. Representatives of UNESCO and the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe shall be invited to state their views.

Upon the invitation of the Government of Malta, a meeting of experts on the Mediterranean will be convened on 13 February 1979 in Valletta. Its mandate will be, within the framework of the Mediterranean Chapter of the Final Act, to consider the possibilities and means of promoting concrete initiatives for mutually beneficial co-operation concerning various economic, scientific and cultural fields, in addition to other initiatives relating to the

*The other relevant documents adopted during the process of the CSCE are: The Final Recommendations of the Helsinki Consultations; the Decisions of the Preparatory Meeting to organize the Belgrade Meeting 1977; this Concluding Document.

above subjects already under way. The non-participating Mediterranean States will be invited to contribute to the work of this meeting. Questions relating to security will be discussed at the Madrid Meeting.

The duration of the meetings of experts should not exceed 4-6 weeks. They will draw up conclusions and recommendations and send their reports to the Governments of the participating States. The results of these meetings will be taken into account, as appropriate, at the Madrid Meeting.

All the above-mentioned meetings will be held in conformity with paragraph 4 of the chapter on "Follow-up to the Conference" of the Final Act.

The Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is requested to transmit the present document to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, to the Director-General of UNESCO and to the Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe. The Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is also requested to transmit the present document to the governments of the Mediterranean non-participating States.

The representatives of the participating States expressed their profound gratitude to the people and Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for the excellent organization of the Belgrade Meeting and the warm hospitality extended to the delegations which participated in the Meeting.

Belgrade, March 8, 1978

Proposals co-sponsored by Canada

1. CSCE/BM/11: Confidence-building measures on notification of manoeuvres, military observers and movement of troops.
2. CSCE/BM/14: Recognition of the right of institutions, organizations and persons to assist governments in the full implementation of the provisions of the Final Act.
3. CSCE/BM/16: Undertaking to ensure that applicants for family reunification and marriage between citizens of other participating states will not be disadvantaged in respect of their employment, housing or access to other social services as a consequence of their having submitted the application concerned.
4. CSCE/BM/22: Undertaking to satisfy domestic demand for newspapers and printed publications from other participating states.
5. CSCE/BM/28: Undertaking to grant applications of an urgent nature for family meetings within a week, and applications for family reunification and marriage between citizens of different states, within three months at most.
6. CSCE/BM/37: Undertaking to interpret the provisions of the Final Act as meaning that applications for family reunification and marriage between citizens of different states shall normally be granted.
7. CSCE/BM/60: Respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including freedom of conscience, of religion or belief.
8. CSCE/BM/67: Elaboration of a convention on terrorism.
9. CSCE/BM/75: Draft concluding document.

Proposal submitted by the delegations of Canada, Great Britain,
the Netherlands and Norway

Confidence-Building Measures

The above-mentioned delegations propose that the following text should be inserted in the concluding document of the Belgrade meeting:

“(1)

The participating States, in implementing the provisions of the Final Act on Confidence-Building Measures,

(Manoeuvres)

- will notify, in the same manner as major manoeuvres, those smaller-scale manoeuvres involving fewer than 25,000 troops and more than 10,000 troops and corresponding in other respects to the parameters contained in the provision on prior notification of major military manoeuvres;
- will, in keeping with the relevant provisions of the Final Act, give notification at least 21 days, but preferably not less than 30 days in advance of the start of the manoeuvre, or, in the case of a manoeuvre arranged at shorter notice, as soon as possible prior to its beginning;
- will include in the contents of the notification additional relevant information related to the components of the manoeuvre, such as the specification and designation of forces engaged at the brigade/regiment level and above and including amphibious, airborne, missile and tank formations;

(Observers)

- are prepared to invite and send observers more frequently to military manoeuvres and to extend invitations to a greater number of participating States;

(1) Preambular language, if any, is for later consideration.

—will endeavour to offer observers the best possible opportunity to observe adequately the development of the manoeuvre; to this end, reasonable freedom of movement in the manoeuvre area, under escort, and adequate briefings on the purpose, characteristics, and development of the manoeuvre will be provided, and appropriate facilities, such as maps, means of transportation, and use of binoculars will be granted;

(Movements)

—will notify their major military movements to all other participating States through usual diplomatic channels in accordance with the following provisions:

- notification will be given of the movement into or within the applicable area, as defined in the Final Act, of 25,000 or more ground troops (in this context the word "troops" includes amphibious and airborne troops), if such troops are moving for a co-ordinated purpose; are moving in units or, if not in units, are moving during a period of 30 consecutive days; and are moving over a straight-line distance of more than 200 kilometres from the point of origin;
- notification will be given 21 days or more in advance of the start of the movement. Should a State be apprehensive for reasons arising from lack of a clear, timely or adequate understanding of the reasons for military activities of other States, that State may give shorter notification, fully explaining its apprehension to the other participating States;
- notification will contain information on the designation, if any, and the general purpose of the movement, the type or types and numerical strength of the forces engaged, the estimated time-frame of the conduct of the movement, its place or places of origin and destination (if located within the applicable area), and identification of units involved in the movement at the regimental level or above."

2. Proposal presented by the Belgian Delegation and by the Delegations of the Federal Republic of Germany, United States of America, Canada, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Ireland, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Norway, the Netherlands and Portugal

The above-mentioned members of the European Communities and the United States of America, Canada, Iceland, Norway, Portugal, propose that the following text be inserted in the concluding document of the Belgrade Meeting:

The participating States reaffirm the relevant and positive role which institutions, organizations and persons as well as governments have to play in the process of developing co-operation between governments and peoples and in the process of securing the implementation of the provisions of the Final Act;

Note the efforts which have already been made in participating States to promote wider understanding of the contents and significance of the Final Act;

And recognize that the right of institutions, organizations and persons to assist governments in the task of ensuring the full implementation of the provisions of the Final Act, including where necessary to point out instances of non-implementation, should be universally respected.

3. Proposal submitted by the Delegations of Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom

The participating States listed above propose to insert the following text into the concluding document of the Belgrade Meeting 1977.

Reference in the Final Act: Sub-chapters on the Reunification of Families and on Marriages between Citizens of Different States

Text: “The participating States will give rapid and non-discriminatory consideration to outstanding and future individual applications for family reunification and marriage involving citizens of other participating States while ensuring that applicants and their families will not be disadvantaged in respect of their employment, housing or access to other social services as a consequence of their having submitted the application concerned.”

4. Proposal submitted by the Delegations of Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom

The participating States listed above propose to insert the following text into the concluding document of the Belgrade Meeting 1977.

Reference in the Final Act: Sub-section on Printed Information in section 2 of the Chapter on Co-operation in Humanitarian and Other Fields.

Text: “The participating States express their intention not to impede the satisfaction of the demand existing on their territory for the newspapers and printed publications, periodical and non-periodical, from the other participating States: will to this end avail themselves of the ways and means set out under the heading ‘printed information’ including, *inter alia*, the development of possibilities for taking out subscriptions.”

5. Proposal submitted by the Delegations of Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, the United Kingdom and the United States of America

The participating States listed above propose to insert the following text into the concluding document of the Belgrade Meeting 1977.

Reference in the Final Act: (a) Contacts and Regular Meetings on the Basis of Family Ties;

(b) Reunification of Families;

(c) Marriage between Citizens of Different States

Text:

“Applicants should be provided with full information on the procedures to be followed. Application forms should be easily available to all. Applications of an urgent nature for the purpose of family meetings should normally be granted within a week, and for the purpose of family reunification and marriage between citizens of different States within three months at most. In those cases where such applications are not granted, applicants will be promptly informed of the refusal”.

6. Proposal submitted by the Delegations of Belgium, Canada, Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway, the United Kingdom and the United States of America

The participating States listed above propose to insert the following text into the concluding document of the Belgrade Meeting 1977.

Reference in the Final Act: Sub-chapters on the Reunification of Families and on Marriage between Citizens of Different States

Text:

“Consideration of applications for the purpose of family meetings ‘favourably’, for the purpose of family reunification ‘in a positive and humanitarian spirit’, and for the purpose of marriage between citizens of different States ‘favourably and on the basis of humanitarian considerations’, should be interpreted as meaning that such applications shall normally be granted. When, in exceptional cases, such applications are not granted, impediments will not be placed in the way of the applicant renewing the application if he so desires”.

7. Proposal submitted by the Delegations of Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Ireland, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Norway, the Netherlands, Portugal, Turkey and the United States of America

On Respect for Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, including the Freedom of Thought, Conscience, Religion or Belief

The above-mentioned delegations propose that the following text be inserted in the concluding document of the Belgrade Meeting:

The participating States:

Recognizing the importance of the CSCE process, and that it must be a continuing one and that all of the principles set forth in the Final Act are of primary significance;

Resolve to implement unilaterally the provisions of Principle 7 of the Final Act relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief;

Resolve also to ensure their implementation bilaterally and within the context of the CSCE and other multilateral forums;

*Resolve further to direct these efforts in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and to fulfil their obligations as set forth in the international declarations and agreements in this field, including *inter alia* the International Covenants on Human Rights, by which they may be bound.*

8. Proposal submitted by the Delegations of Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States of America

The above-mentioned States propose that the following text be inserted in the concluding document of the Belgrade Meeting:

The participating States *condemn* all acts of terrorist violence and *declare their intention* to support in the United Nations the initiative which is aimed at the drafting of a convention against the taking of hostages and to co-operate actively with a view to preventing the taking of hostages.

9. Proposal submitted by the Delegations of Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States of America

**Concerning the
Concluding Document of the Belgrade Meeting 1977 of
Representatives of the Participating States of the
Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, held
on the Basis of the Provisions of the Final Act relating
to the follow-up to the Conference**

I

In accordance with the provisions of the Final Act relating to the follow-up to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, a meeting of the representatives of the participating States — the Belgrade Meeting 1977 — was held from 4 October 1977 to 1978. The date, duration, agenda and other modalities of the Meeting were established in the Decisions of the Preparatory Meeting also held at Belgrade, from 15 June to 5 August 1977.

The representatives of Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, the Holy See, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Malta, Monaco, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, San Marino, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, the United States of America and Yugoslavia appointed by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of these States took part in the Belgrade Meeting 1977.

During the opening session of the Meeting, the participants received a message from the President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito.

The participants were addressed, on behalf of the host country, by Mr. Milos Minic, Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council and Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

During the opening session of the Meeting, the participants were also addressed, on behalf of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, by Mr. Winspeare Guicciardi, Director-General of the Office of the United Nations at Geneva.

Opening statements were made by the representatives of the participating States in open Plenary meetings:

Mr. Janez Stanovnik, Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, then Mr. Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, Director-General of UNESCO, made speeches on the contribution of these organizations to the implementation of the relevant provisions of the Final Act.

At sessions of the Plenary and of the appropriate subsidiary working body, contributions were made by the following non-participating Mediterranean States: the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, the Arab Republic of Egypt, Israel, Lebanon, the Kingdom of Morocco, the Syrian Arab Republic and Tunisia.

The representatives of the participating States in accordance with their mandate held a thorough and useful exchange of views both on the implementation of the provisions of the Final Act and of the tasks defined by the Conference, as well as, in the context of the questions dealt with by the latter, on the deepening of their mutual relations, the improvement of security and the development of co-operation in Europe, and the development of the process of *détente* in the future. They also examined proposals concerning the above questions and the definition of the appropriate modalities for the holding of other meetings in conformity with all the provisions of the chapter of the Final Act concerning the follow-up to the Conference.

After the adoption of the present document, closing statements were made by the representatives of the participating States in open Plenary meetings.

II

The representatives of the participating States stressed the great political significance of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which initiated a new stage in the efforts of their States directed to increasing security, further developing co-operation, and bringing about a climate of confidence, mutual understanding and justice in Europe.

They also stressed the fundamental importance they attach to the continuation and further development of *détente* as well as the necessity to intensify efforts to make it an increasingly viable and comprehensive process, of universal significance, reflecting their sincere desire to contribute to peace, security, justice and co-operation in Europe and the world as a whole.

Noting that *détente*, of which the relations between participating States form an integral part, has continued since the adoption of the Final Act in spite of problems and obstacles encountered, they expressed the determina-

tion of their States to intensify their efforts to achieve the aims set by the Conference. In this respect they stressed the role of the CSCE in the process of *détente*, the Final Act and its implementation being essential for the development of this process.

It was recognized that the thorough exchange of views on the implementation of the provisions of the Final Act constituted in itself a valuable contribution towards the achievement of the aims set by the CSCE.

Divergent views were expressed as to the degree of implementation of the Final Act reached so far by each of the participating States; it was noted that encouraging progress had been made in the process of implementation, while important shortcomings, also including cases of non-implementation, calling for further action still exist.

The participating States agreed that much remains to be done in order to give full effect to the Final Act. They therefore expressed their resolve to pursue their efforts fully to implement all its provisions through unilateral, bilateral and multilateral action. They will pay due regard to the provisions, where appropriate, in the application of their legislation.

They also noted that governments, organizations, institutions and persons all have a relevant and positive role to play if the multiple benefits of co-operation are to be fully secured. They recognized that institutions, organizations and persons have a right to assist governments in the task of ensuring the full implementation of the provisions of the Final Act, including, where necessary, to point out instances of non-implementation.

III

The representatives of the participating States reaffirmed that their States remain determined to be guided in the conduct of their relations, each of them with all other participating States, by strict compliance with and the application of the ten principles set forth in the Final Act, in all forms and activities of their relations and irrespective of their political, economic and social systems, thus further contributing to the strengthening of security and peace and to the development of co-operation in Europe. They are further determined to conduct their relations with all other States in the spirit of these principles.

In view of the experience acquired, shortcomings noted and problems faced, they considered that it is indispensable to apply all principles in a more comprehensive and consistent manner.

The participating States recognized that the human aspect of the CSCE process and its significance for peoples and individuals have still to be fully

realized. They reaffirmed that the respect, by all of them, for human rights and fundamental freedoms in all their aspects is of fundamental importance and constitutes an essential basis for substantial improvement of their mutual relations. They expressed their resolve fully to comply with their international commitments and obligations in this field. In so doing, they will act in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

In this respect, they recalled the right of everyone to work, the equal and effective participation of women in political, economic, social and cultural life, the free exercise of the profession and practice of a religion or belief included in the number of rights and liberties recognized by all. They also expressed the hope that all participating States will consider the possibility of acceding to the International Covenants on Human Rights and to the Optional Protocol thereto.

Having reaffirmed the desire of their States to respect and give effect to refraining from the threat or use of force in their mutual relations as with all other States, they have convoked, in conformity with the mandate contained in the Final Act and according to the proposal made to this effect by the Government of Switzerland to convene at Montreux on October 31, 1978, a meeting of experts charged with pursuing the examination and elaboration of a generally acceptable method for peaceful settlement of disputes aimed at complementing existing methods.

Condemning all acts of terrorist violence, the participating States declare their intention to reinforce international collaboration aimed at elaborating effective measures designed to prevent the taking of hostages.

They will also do their best to assure to all official representatives and persons who participate on their territories in activities within the scope of mutual co-operation between States necessary security, as well as favourable conditions for their stay and their work.

IV

The representatives of the participating States noted that, while there had been important differences in the manner in which confidence-building measures had been implemented, there had been some progress in strengthening confidence as a result of the implementation by all States of the minimum requirements set out in the Final Act. They observed that a number of States had implemented certain provisions liberally, especially by notifying their smaller-scale manoeuvres, by giving observers ample opportunity to follow

the manoeuvres to which they had been invited and by providing ample information when notifying manoeuvres.

To deepen and intensify implementation as well as to develop and enlarge measures to strengthen confidence, the representatives of the participating States adopted the following:

They will notify, in the same manner as major manoeuvres, those smaller-scale manoeuvres involving fewer than 25,000 troops and more than 10,000 troops and corresponding in other respects to the parameters contained in the provision on prior notification of major military manoeuvres.

Information on manoeuvres will also include notification of the types and numbers of the participating major units, that is, at the brigade/regiment or divisional level and above, the estimated starting and finishing dates of the movements of the forces involved as well as the period of absence from their regular duty stations.

Observers at military manoeuvres should be offered the best opportunity of acquiring a good overall picture of the manoeuvre and of observing adequately its development by ample and continuous information. They should be offered reasonable freedom of movement in the manoeuvre area, under escort; appropriate facilities such as adequate maps and binoculars; and the opportunity to follow the activities of field units taking part in the manoeuvre; and, if feasible, contact with command staffs. They should be given equal treatment.

Prior notification will be given of major military movements taking place into or within the applicable area, as defined for prior notification of major military manoeuvres, and covering more than 200 kilometres measured on a straight line from the point of origin. When notifying States will apply the same provisions as adopted for major military manoeuvres with the additional information of the direction of the movements and the place of destination. They understand that the term "major military movement" is also applicable to movements which take place in parts, divided in time and/or space, whether in units or not, which in the aggregate exceed a total of 25,000 troops, if the troops involved are moving for a co-ordinated purpose and during a period of 30 consecutive days.

Appropriate, increased openness regarding military matters would contribute to confidence-building as well as to reducing and eliminating causes of misunderstanding and overreaction. The participating States will promote openness with regard to their military budgets. They recognize the relevance and value of ongoing efforts to develop a satisfactory instrument for the consistent and comprehensive measurement and reporting of military expenditures by States.

They expressed the view that it is of the utmost importance and urgency for all participating States to take effective steps towards halting the arms race throughout the world and to pursue ongoing efforts in negotiating forums related to arms limitation and to the achievement of general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control. Prompt action towards these objectives should be taken to establish more stable relations on a regional basis, in particular in Europe, where major military potentials are concentrated.

The participating States therefore declare their resolve to encourage worldwide disarmament measures both in the United Nations and in other disarmament forums, and to give their full support to the special session of the United Nations General Assembly on disarmament, to be held in the spring of 1978. They transmit to those engaged in the forums indicated above the sense of urgency felt by the Belgrade Meeting concerning the need to achieve progress in the field of arms limitation and disarmament.

V

In the field of economics, of science and technology and of the environment, the representatives of the participating States acknowledged that their mutual trade and industrial co-operation had grown in the past two years, but still did not reflect their full potential. Some improvements were noted, but there was a need for greater efforts to ensure the full implementation of the relevant provisions of the Final Act, particularly in the area of business contacts and facilities and in that of economic and commercial information.

Throughout their discussions, the representatives of the participating States recognized the valuable work done by the ECE as the main instrument for multilateral implementation of the relevant provisions of the Final Act, and they considered it of the greatest importance to continue the work already initiated there. They declared the determination of their States to take further steps to increase their co-operation in the ECE in fields of particular interest to them.

The participating States stress the need for further efforts towards solving the problems of developing countries throughout the world, including those among the participating countries as long as they are developing from the economic point of view. They express their readiness to make joint economic efforts to contribute to the process aimed at setting up a new international economic order.

The participating States express their willingness to intensify their efforts with a view to ensuring a dynamic development of trade, in particular

through the diversification of its structure. They will continue their efforts, on the basis of reciprocity, to reduce or progressively eliminate all kinds of obstacles to trade and to avoid as far as possible the introduction of new obstacles.

They furthermore express their readiness to examine possible measures to facilitate international trade in medical drugs and instruments.

In the field of business contacts, the participating States declare their readiness to make further efforts to ensure wider participation of small and medium-sized firms in trade and industrial co-operation. To this end, they will improve the financial and administrative conditions for the establishment of joint representations by these firms. They furthermore will work towards an improvement of international telecommunications and postal services, in particular automatic telex connections for business representations.

The participating States, when publishing economic and commercial information reflecting economic developments, will endeavour to use a nomenclature which ensures continuity in the monitoring of changes. They consider that statistical information should permit comparability, be as specific as possible, supplemented by corresponding data in absolute terms, and be available as quickly as possible. They recognize the usefulness of making this and other relevant economic and commercial information existing in other participating States more readily available to business circles in their countries through appropriate channels. Statistical series, bulletins or annuals including data on trade, production, consumption and national income should preferably be published within 12 months of the period to which they relate.

The representatives of the participating States recognize that further efforts are required to improve conditions for the development of industrial co-operation. In this connection they agreed that steps should be taken on the basis of bilateral arrangements to further improve the facilities and accommodation for foreign personnel involved in industrial co-operation projects. It is also considered desirable to identify new forms of co-operation, including co-operation in third markets, to contribute further to the simplification of the procedures and techniques of negotiation of industrial co-operation agreements, and to intensify the exchange of all kinds of information in this field.

The participating States, recognizing the importance of co-operation in the field of energy, and the need to achieve a better understanding of energy resources in the ECE region, declare their readiness to support fully the ECE's current program of information exchange on energy matters,

including the work aimed at establishing long-term demand and supply forecasts for energy in the ECE region.

The representatives of the participating States recognized the need for a continued increase in scientific and technological co-operation at bilateral and multilateral levels and all forms of co-operation, including direct contacts between scientists and between specialists. The participating States will encourage existing multilateral efforts to ensure wide access to the achievements of contemporary science and technology on a mutually advantageous basis. They furthermore will encourage co-operation among relevant research centres and specialists in the field of agriculture.

The representatives of the participating States expressed their satisfaction with the follow-up carried out by the ECE in the field of the environment, and reaffirmed their Governments' intention to pursue this work actively. They expressed the hope that a decision will be taken at the 33rd session of the ECE concerning the holding within the framework of the ECE of a high-level meeting on the environment, on the basis of ECE resolution 1 (XXXII) and the conditions set forth therein.

In the field of migrant labour, the participating States recommend that the host countries and countries of origin should intensify their contacts with a view to finding common solutions to the most urgent problems which exist in the field of migrant labour, and strengthen their efforts to implement the existing agreements to which they are parties; and that to the same end the host countries and the countries of origin should strengthen, by all appropriate means, their efforts to improve the situation of migrant workers in all areas covered in the section of the Final Act on migrant labour, including that of the promotion of their economic, social, human and other rights.

VI

Within the context of the provisions of the Final Act, the representatives of the participating States exchanged views on the situation in the Mediterranean and took note of the interest also expressed on this subject by the representatives of the non-participating Mediterranean States.

It was noted with concern that, despite efforts to lessen tensions in the Mediterranean region, these persist. It was stressed that urgent resolution of these tensions will be beneficial to the region, and will also have a positive effect on strengthening peace and security in Europe and in the world.

At the same time positive results had been achieved in the development of co-operation in the various fields of economic activity.

The participants remain prompted by the desire to maintain and amplify the dialogue as initiated by the CSCE with the non-participating Mediterranean States, and to advance the objectives contained in the Mediterranean Chapter of the Final Act.

To these ends they decided:

— To convene, within the follow-up to CSCE a meeting of experts, the at

Its mandate will be to consider the possibilities and proper means of promoting concrete initiatives for mutually beneficial co-operation concerning various economic, scientific and cultural fields, in particular tourism, health and education, in addition to initiatives already under way.

The non-participating Mediterranean States will be invited to contribute to the work of this meeting.

— To encourage the States directly concerned to undertake additional efforts aimed at achieving the objectives set forth in the relevant provisions of the Final Act by means of unilateral, bilateral and multilateral activities.

VII

The representatives of the participating States noted with satisfaction that some progress had been made in the field of human contacts. Taking into consideration, however, the shortcomings still existing and conscious of their readiness to continue the expansion of co-operation in humanitarian fields, as provided for in the Final Act, the participating States agreed that further measures were needed to fully implement its relevant provisions.

— ensuring that applications relating to contacts and regular meetings on the basis of family ties, reunification of families and marriage between citizens of different States, will be resolved in a positive and humanitarian spirit within the shortest of time limits and on a non-discriminatory basis. All efforts should be made as a regular practice to grant applications for the purpose of family meetings within one month, in urgent cases within one week, and for the purpose of family reunions and marriages between citizens of different States within three months at most. Applicants and the members of their families will continue to have the same rights as before concerning *inter alia* their legal, social, and professional status, including housing, and to continue to have the same obligations;

— ensuring adequate information as to the procedures to be followed by applicants in the above-mentioned fields;

— continuing to lower progressively the fees charged in connection with applications and official travel documents including passports, so as to ensure

that they are at a moderate level in relation to the average weekly income in the respective participating States;

— further facilitating wider travel on an individual or collective basis for personal and professional reasons, by reducing requirements for exit visas where these exist and by improving where necessary procedures for the issuance of entry visas and through waiving requirements for minimum currency exchange and for advance hotel reservations;

— further facilitating contacts, meetings, exchange of and freer access to information among religious faiths, institutions and organizations and their representatives in the field of their activities, in accordance with all the possibilities provided for in the Final Act;

— permitting persons freely to contact and visit foreign missions without disadvantage to their rights and social status.

VIII

The representatives of the participating States noted that the improvement in the circulation of, access to and exchange of information was still in its initial stage, and that further efforts were necessary to reach the freer and wider dissemination of all kinds of information and by all types of news media called for in the Final Act, especially in the field of printed information. They expressed satisfaction as to the degree of co-operation attained in the field of information, especially between radio and television organizations, and expressed the hope that such co-operation will also become more active between other news media and their journalists. They noted some progress in the improvement of working conditions for journalists, but felt that these conditions still vary, thus calling for further efforts.

The participating States intend in particular:

— in response to demand to facilitate further the importation, sale and subscription of newspapers and periodicals from other participating States by making full use of the possibilities contained in the Final Act;

— to favour further bilateral and multilateral co-operation among press agencies;

— to simplify further existing requirements for all foreign journalists to enter and leave, as well as to stay and travel, within a participating State, with the documentation necessary for their work;

— to further facilitate, in all aspects, the work of foreign journalists, *inter alia*, personal access to sources;

— to favour the creation and activities of foreign press associations in their capitals;

— to encourage efforts towards further dissemination of the full text of the Final Act and of the present document, to the widest possible public and to ensure the constant accessibility of these documents to their citizens.

In order to implement further the objectives of the Final Act in the field of information, the participating States decide to convoke a meeting of experts in starting on 1979. This meeting, not to exceed weeks, will endeavour to prepare a convention on the working conditions of foreign journalists and to elaborate specific measures for the wider dissemination of printed information, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Final Act.

IX

The representatives of the participating States noted that the implementation of the provisions of the Final Act relating to culture and education had positive effect on the development of co-operation in these fields.

They also noted that numerous possibilities offered by the Final Act had not been sufficiently utilized in encouraging co-operation and contacts among institutions, organizations and persons active in these fields. The participating States confirmed their resolve to encourage and, where possible, to support such activities with a view to achieve a more dynamic and overall utilization of these possibilities, thus ensuring a comprehensive realization of the provisions and objectives set forth in the Final Act.

With these aims in mind, the participating States agreed on the following:

— to declare the year 1980 as the "Year of Cultural Co-operation among the States participating in the CSCE", and to this end to encourage, and, when possible, to support unilateral, bilateral and multilateral measures aimed at a more comprehensive acquaintance with the culture of the participating States. In this regard, the participating States will have bilateral and multilateral contacts, including contacts within UNESCO. They will take into consideration the relevant proposals and ideas expressed at the Belgrade Meeting;

— to encourage the widening of mutual knowledge and understanding by facilitating the supply of, and access to, books as well as works of art by authors and artists from all participating States, as well as by improving the exchange of experience concerning the implementation of the relevant parts of the Final Act and of their mutual cultural agreements and programs;

— to encourage co-operation in the fields of preservation and protection of cultural heritage, the organization of a seminar on the restoration of historical and cultural works, the holding of artistic events in various fields,

an international sculpture workshop of young artists, as well as an exhibition of architecture and town planning;

— upon the invitation of the Federal Republic of Germany, the meeting of experts envisaged in the Final Act in order to prepare a "Scientific Forum" will take place in Bonn starting on 20 June 1978. This meeting, not to exceed four weeks, will be conducted within the framework of the Follow-up to the Conference and of its rules of procedure. Representatives of UNESCO and the ECE shall be invited to state their views;

— to continue encouraging research concerning the problems of security and co-operation in Europe;

— to ensure scholars, teachers and students improved possibilities of making use of libraries and open archives through encouraging the exchange of bibliographies, catalogues and lists of archival materials;

— to encourage the teaching and study of less widely-spread or studied languages, as well as the holding of seminars on the translation, publication and dissemination of books, especially those produced in these languages;

— to intensify, particularly within UNESCO, their efforts to solve problems concerning the comparison and equivalence between academic degrees and diplomas.

The participating States will make further efforts within UNESCO, in order to implement fully the provisions of the Final Act relevant to this organization.

The participating States, promoting their co-operation in the field of culture and education, will, in compliance with the relevant provisions of the Final Act, take into account the contributions that national minorities or regional cultures can make, when such minorities or cultures exist within their territory.

X

In conformity with the relevant provisions of the Final Act and with their resolve to continue the multilateral process initiated by the CSCE, in particular by successive meetings at appropriate intervals among their representatives, the participating States will hold the second of these meetings in Madrid as from the third Tuesday in February 1980.

The Meeting will be held in accordance with the provisions of the Final Act concerning the "Follow-up to the Conference", and the Decisions of the Preparatory Meeting to the Belgrade Meeting 1977, including the statements made by the Chairman of the Preparatory Meeting on 5 August 1977, will

apply *mutatis mutandis*. Its agenda, including the thorough exchange of views foreseen by the Final Act, should also have regard to the decisions, conclusions and recommendations contained in the present document, and to the outcome of meetings of experts which have taken place since the Belgrade Meeting 1977.

A preparatory meeting will be held in Madrid as from the second Tuesday of January 1980. It will, on the basis described above, adopt the working program of the main meeting and decide on other problems outstanding in relation to the modalities of the main meeting, including the level of representation. In doing so the preparatory meeting will take into consideration the experience gained during the Belgrade Meeting 1977.

The meetings of experts convened by this document will, in accordance with their terms of reference, draw up conclusions and recommendations and send their reports to the Governments of the participating States.

All the above-mentioned meetings will be held in conformity with paragraph 4 of the Chapter on "Follow-up to the Conference" of the Final Act.

APPENDIX C

Canadian Delegation to the Belgrade Meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe

Special Representatives of the
Secretary of State for External Affairs

The Honourable N. Cafik,
Minister of State for
Multiculturalism

Head of Delegation

Mr. K. Goldschlag,
Deputy Under-Secretary
of State for External Affairs

Members of the Delegation

Mr. W. T. Delworth,
Ambassador of Canada
to Hungary

Cdr. J. Toogood,
Deputy Head of Delegation,
Department of National Defence,
Ottawa

Mr. C. St-J. Anstis,
Canadian Embassy,
Rome, Italy

Mr. N. Etheridge,
Department of External Affairs,
Ottawa

Mr. J. P. Gombay,
Department of External Affairs,
Ottawa

Mr. C. Court,
Canadian Embassy,
Belgrade, Yugoslavia

Parliamentary Observers

The Honourable P. Bosa, Senator
The Honourable J. Marchand, Senator
The Honourable O. H. Phillips, Senator
The Honourable A. E. Thompson, Senator
The Honourable P. Yuzyk, Senator

Mr. A. Brewin, M.P.
Mr. C. Caccia, M.P.
Mr. W. Clarke, M.P.
The Honourable S. Hidasz, M.P., P.C.
Mrs. S. Holt, M.P.
Mr. R. Kaplan, M.P.
Mr. S. Korchinski, M.P.
Mr. G. Marceau, M.P.
Mr. G. Mitges, M.P.
Mr. I. Pelletier, M.P.
Mr. W. Skoreyko, M.P.
Mr. P. Stollery, M.P.
Mr. J. Trudel, M.P.



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